

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 5. No. 8.—New Series.] AUGUST 1, 1857.

{Price Fourpence Stamped  
{ Threepence Unstamped.

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### THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

OUR author proceeds now to fulfil his promise of giving exact information

OF THE COMPARATIVE AMOUNT OF WORK ACCOMPLISHED IN A GIVEN TIME BY FREE AND SLAVE-LABOURERS.

Mr. T. R. Griscom, of Petersburg, Virginia, stated to me, that he once took accurate account of the labour expended in harvesting a large field of wheat; and the result was, that one quarter of an acre a day was secured for each able hand engaged in cradling, raking, and binding. The crop was light, yielding not over six bushels to the acre. In New York a gang of fair cradlers and binders would be expected, under ordinary circumstances, to secure a crop of wheat, yielding from twenty to thirty bushels to the acre, at the rate of about two acres a day for each man.

Mr. Griscom formerly resided in New Jersey; and, since living in Virginia, has had the superintendence of very large agricultural operations, conducted with slave-labour. After I had, in a letter intended for publication, made use of this testimony, I called upon him, to ask if he would object to my giving his name with it. He was so good as to permit me to do so, and said that I might add that the ordinary waste in harvesting wheat in Virginia, through the carelessness of the negroes, beyond that which occurs in the hands of ordinary Northern labourers, is equal in value to what a Northern farmer would often consider a satisfactory profit on his crop. He also wished me to say that it was his deliberate opinion, formed not without much and accu-

rate observation, that four Virginia slaves do not, when engaged in ordinary agricultural operations, accomplish as much, on an average, as one ordinary free farm-labourer in New Jersey.

Mr. Griscom is well known at Petersburg as a man remarkable for reliability, accuracy, and preciseness; and no man's judgment on this subject could be entitled to more respect.

Another man, who had superintended labour of the same character at the North and in Virginia, whom I questioned closely, agreed entirely with Mr. Griscom, believing that four negroes had to be supported on every farm in the State to accomplish the same work which was ordinarily done by one free-labourer in New York.

A clergyman from Connecticut, who had resided for many years in Virginia, told me that what a slave expected to spend a day upon, a Northern labourer would, he was confident, usually accomplish by eleven o'clock in the morning.

In a letter on this subject, most of the facts given in which have been already narrated in this volume, written from Virginia to the *New-York Daily Times*, I expressed the conviction that, at the most, not more than one-half as much labour was ordinarily accomplished in Virginia by a certain number of slaves, in a given time, as by an equal number of free labourers in New York. The publication of this letter induced a number of persons to make public the conclusions of their own experience or observations on this subject. So far as I know, these, in every case, sustained my conclusions, or, if any doubt was expressed, it was that I had underestimated the superior economy of free-labour. As affording evidence more valuable

than my own on this important point, from the better opportunities of forming sound judgment, which a residence at different times, in both Virginia and a free State, had given the writers, I have reprinted, in an appendix, two of these letters, together with a quantity of other testimony from Southern witnesses on this subject, which I beg the reader, who has any doubt of the correctness of my information, not to neglect.

"DRIVING."

On mentioning to a gentleman in Virginia, who believed that slave-labour was better and cheaper than free-labour, Mr. Griscom's observation, he replied, that without doubting the correctness of the statement of that particular instance, he was sure that if four men did not harvest more than an acre of wheat a day, they could not have been well driven. He knew that, if properly driven, threatened with punishment, and punished, if necessary, negroes would do as much work as it is possible for any white man to do. The same gentleman, however, at another time, told me that negroes were very seldom punished, not oftener, he presumed, than apprentices were at the North; that the driving of them was generally left to overseers, who were the laziest and most worthless dogs in the world, frequently not demanding higher wages for their services than one of the negroes they were given to manage might be hired out for. Another gentleman told me that he would rather, if the law would permit it, have some of his negroes for overseers than any white man he had ever been able to obtain in that capacity.

Another planter, whom I requested to examine a letter on the subject that I had prepared for the *Daily Times*, that he might, if he could, refute my calculations, or give me any facts of an opposite character, after reading it, said: "The truth is, that, in general, a slave does not do half the work he easily might, and which, by being harsh enough with him, he can be made to do. When I came into possession of my plantation, I soon found the overseer then upon it was good for nothing, and told him I had no further occasion for his services: I then went to driving the negroes myself. In the morning, when I went out, one of them came up to me and asked what work he should go about. I told him to go into the swamp and cut some wood. 'Well, massa,' said he, 's'pose you wants me to do kordins we's been use to doin'; ebery nigger cut a cord a day.' 'A cord! that's what you have been used to doing, is it?' said I. 'Yes, massa, dat's wot dey always makes a nigger do roun' heah—a cord a day, dat's allers de task.' 'Well now, old man,'\* said I, 'you go and cut me two cords to-day.' 'Oh, massa! two cords! Nobody couldn' do dat. Oh, massa! dat's too hard! Nebber heard o' nobody's cuttin' more'n a cord o' wood in a day, roun' heah. No nigger couldn' do it.' 'Well, old man, you have two cords of wood cut to-night, or to-morrow morning you shall get

\* "Old man," is a common title of address to any middle-aged negro in Virginia whose name is not known. "Boy" and "Old Man" may be applied to the same person. Of course, in this case, the slave is not to be supposed to be beyond his prime of strength.

two hundred lashes; that's all there is about it. So, look sharp.' And he did it; and ever since no negro has cut less than two cords a-day for me, though my neighbours never get but one cord. It was just so with a great many other things: mauling rails—I always have two-hundred rails mauled in a day; just twice what it is the custom of the country to expect of a negro, and just twice as many as my negroes had been made to do before I managed them myself.

This only makes it more probable that the amount of labour ordinarily and generally performed by slaves in Virginia is very small, compared with that done by the labourers of the free States, and confirms the correctness of the estimates that I have given.

These estimates, let it be recollected in conclusion, are all deliberately and carefully made by gentlemen of liberal education, who have had unusual facilities of observing, both at the North and at the South—gentlemen who own or employ slaves themselves, and who sustain Southern designs on the political questions connected with Slavery. I have not given them because they were extreme, but because I could obtain no others equally exact. The conclusion to which they directly point is, that the cost of any certain amount of labour, by measure, of tasks and not of time, is between three and four hundred per cent. higher in Virginia than in the free States. To this is to be added the cost of clothing the slaves, of the time they lose in sickness or otherwise, and of all they pilfer, damage, and destroy through carelessness, improvidence, recklessness, and "rascality."

Labour is the creator of wealth. There can be no honest wealth, no true prosperity without it; and in exact proportion to the economy of labour is the cost of production and the accumulation of profit upon the capital used in its employment.

Let any one allow as much as he can, in view of the testimony, for exaggeration in these estimates, and reduce them accordingly. It seems to me hardly possible that he should be able still to doubt, that, in the additional cost of labour alone, a grand, if not all-sufficient cause, may be found for the acknowledged slow progress and the poverty of Virginia, compared with the free States.

#### SLAVERY GEOGRAPHICAL.

WE commend to the careful perusal of our readers the following able article from the *National Era* of the 18th of June, on the subject of Slavery as determined by what has been called "the great climatic law," or the "isothermal line." It is in answer to a paragraph in a recent inaugural address of Governor Walker, (South Carolina,) which we insert as a suitable introduction to the valuable comments of the Editor of the *Era*.

"There is a law more powerful than the legislation of man, more potent than passion or prejudice, that must ultimately determine the location of Slavery in this country: it is the isothermal line, it is the law of the thermometer, of latitude or altitude, regulating climate, labour, and productions, and, as a consequence, profit and loss. Thus, even upon the mountain heights



of the tropics, Slavery can no more exist than in northern latitudes, because it is unprofitable, being unsuited to the constitution of that sable race transplanted here from the equatorial heats of Africa. Why is it that, in the Union, Slavery recedes from the North, and progresses South? It is the same great climatic law now operating for or against Slavery in Kansas. If, on the elevated plains of Kansas, stretching to the base of our American Alps—the Rocky Mountains—and including their eastern crest, crowned with perpetual snow, from which sweep over her open prairies those chilling blasts, reducing the average range of the thermometer here to a temperature nearly as low as that of New England, should render Slavery unprofitable here, because unsuited to the tropical constitution of the negro race, the law above referred to must ultimately determine that question here, and can no more be controlled by the legislation of man, than any other moral or physical law of the Almighty. Especially must this law operate with irresistible force in this country, where the number of slaves is limited, and cannot be increased by importation, where many millions of acres of sugar and cotton lands are still uncultivated, and, from the ever-augmenting demand, exceeding the supply, the price of those great staples has nearly doubled, demanding vastly more slave-labour for their production."

So bold a doctrine as this was not likely to remain unattacked. The reply is somewhat lengthy, but, at the risk of prolixity, we insert it at length, for it contains some most valuable facts, while the arguments are irrefutable.

"It is difficult to reply to such generalities as are contained in this paragraph, not because they are true, but because they are so vague that it is almost impossible to determine their meaning. Let us see whether we can reduce them to distinct, intelligible propositions.

"1. 'The isothermal line, the law of the thermometer, of latitude and altitude'—a physical law of the Almighty—'must ultimately determine the location of Slavery.'

"2. This 'law,' in its application to Slavery, 'can no more be controlled by the legislation of man, than any other moral or physical law of the Almighty.'

"3. This law determines the location of Slavery, 'by regulating climate, labour, and productions, and, as a consequence, profit and loss.'

"4. This law determines the location of Negro Slavery by its operation on the constitution of the negro—such Slavery existing where it operates favourably, or not existing where it operates unfavourably—being unprofitable in certain latitudes, because the climate is unsuited 'to the tropical constitution of the negro race'; profitable in other latitudes, because the climate is suited to its constitution.

"The first three propositions are universal, applying to Slavery everywhere: the last is confined to Negro Slavery in this country.

"It is a common device for men to attempt to acquit themselves of individual responsibility,

by appealing to the constraining influence of general law. Who has not heard the universal depravity of human nature alleged in excuse for its particular aberrations? There are divines who suppose they find, in the Providence that does not prevent wrong institutions or practices, full authority for their existence.

"The first inquiry with Governor Walker should be, Does any 'moral or physical law of the Almighty' *authorise the existence of Slavery in any latitude?* If there be no such law, we may be sure that he has not attempted by any climatic law to regulate its *location*. You may shew that it is more profitable in a pecuniary way below a certain degree of altitude or latitude than above it; but this does not furnish the warrant for its existence either below or above. If it be against moral and natural right, one thing is certain—it may enable a few masters to make money, but it must be subversive of the highest interests, both of themselves and their victims.

"Waiving for the present this preliminary inquiry, we deny the propositions eliminated from these generalities of General Walker.

"The law of temperature, of altitude, or latitude, does not determine the location of Slavery. In ancient times, the system existed in all latitudes: in the middle ages, for centuries it prevailed in Germany, France, and Great Britain, although climate, soil, and productions were unfavourable to it; and it disappeared at last chiefly under the joint influences of the church, of judicial decisions, of civil wars, legislation, and the general progress of ideas.

"That this law determines the location of Slavery by 'regulating, climate, labour, and productions, profit and loss, is not true. The Southern States of the Union range generally from the 25th to the 40th degree of north latitude; the larger portion of China from 20 to 40, and British India from 10 to 30 degrees north latitude. The climate of all these regions is adapted to the growth of rice, cotton, and sugar, the great staples of slave-labour, as they are called; temperature and productions are alike: but while Slavery exists in the Southern States, free labour prevails throughout Hindostan and China. The 'isothermal line' has nothing to do with the question.

"Nor is it true that the climatic law, in its application to Slavery, can no more be controlled by the legislation of man than any other moral or physical law of the Almighty. Slavery had located itself, in obedience to this great 'climatic law,' if we are to admit the theory of Governor Walker, in the West Indies, in Mexico, in Central America and the Southern Republics, and yet, nearly a half century ago, it was abolished in St. Domingo by the French Assembly; in 1833, abolished in the British West Indies by Parliament; in 1848, abolished in the French Colonies by the Revolutionary Government; and, at recent periods, in Central America, Mexico, Peru, and Chili, by legislative act; shewing that this *uncontrollable* climatic law can not only be controlled, but subverted, by the 'legislation of man.' No matter what may have been the results of such emancipation, the fact is established, that the 'legislation of man' is so

potent, that it can completely counteract the workings of Governor Walker's climatic law.'

"It is marvellous that an intelligent man should venture upon such assertions. Look at Missouri and Illinois, under the same 'climatic law'—latitude, temperature, productions alike—if any thing, Missouri more unsuitable to slave-labour than Illinois—and yet this is a free, that, a slave State. Why? Because the 'legislation of man' prohibited Slavery in one and authorised it in the other. Nearly one-half of California lies in the same latitude as South Carolina and Georgia, and is as well adapted to slave-labour. Had Governor Walker's climatic law been left to regulate the matter, it would have been to-day a slaveholding State; but the 'legislation of man' interfered, controlled that 'law,' and established the free-labour system.

"The fourth proposition, applying alone to Negro Slavery, is a curious one. Slavery, he says, cannot exist above a certain line, because it is unprofitable, the climate not being suited to 'the tropical constitution of the negro race,' or, as he elsewhere expresses it, 'unsuited to the constitution of that sable race, transplanted here from the equatorial heats of Africa!'

"What mysterious line is that? If the negro race be 'tropical' in its constitution, its location *anywhere* in the United States is against 'the isothermal line, the law of the thermometer, of latitude and altitude;' against the law of nature, for, thanks to a kind Providence, no part of our country, except the little town of Matamoras, is within the tropics. The negro race has been transplanted from 'equatorial heats' to the cool regions of the temperate zone. Is it Governor Walker's opinion, then, that they are out of place in these United States; that even the climate of Virginia and South Carolina is unsuited to them; that Slavery, after all, is unprofitable in the Southern States?

"If there appears to be some confusion of ideas in his theory, we are not responsible for it: his propositions certainly admit of remarkable constructions.

"It is well for our country that the policy of leaving the location of Slavery to be determined by the 'law of latitude,' 'of temperature,' was not the policy of the fathers of the Republic. It was the 'legislation of man' that saved from its polluting presence the great north-western territory, that nursery of free States. It is owing to the absence of such legislation that Slavery has always existed in Missouri, and that to-day it sits an incubus on the energies of Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. Climate and soil render Slavery in them an element of weakness, and yet there is no prospect of its extinction, except by the 'legislation of man.' There is truth in the assumption that Slavery is more unprofitable in certain regions than in others; but no truth in the notion, now so industriously propagated in the democratic party, that, because unprofitable, it will cease to exist. Men overlook the force of habit, of prejudice, of passion, of political considerations, of private interest. Slavery is unprofitable to the district of Columbia, as a whole: it retards population, checks agriculture, impairs enterprise, keeps down production and the price of land; and yet to the few of the few

hundred slaveholders Slavery is profitable, to the rest a source of consideration; and the great majority, with interest really adverse to it, either from prejudice, or ignorance, or love of peace, shrink from opposing it: so it lives here, as it does in Delaware and Maryland, where, while a source of pecuniary profit, and social or political distinction to the few, it is a drawback on the State. The law of climate cannot overcome selfishness, or prejudice, or ambition: the extinction of Slavery must be effected by 'the legislation of man,' and this must be preceded by such appeals to reason, enlightened self-interest, and conscience, as shall create a public opinion equal to such legislation.

"Governor Walker, in many respects, is a statesman of enlarged and liberal views, but his statesmanship in relation to Slavery begins and ends with the 'almighty dollar.' 'Especially,' he says, 'must this climatic law operate with irresistible force in this country, where the number of slaves is limited, and cannot be increased by importation, and where many millions of acres of sugar and cotton lands are still uncultivated, and, from the ever-augmenting demand exceeding the supply, the demand of these great staples has nearly doubled, demanding vastly more slave-labour for their production.' This is one form of the commercial argument. It is sometimes stated more broadly. Cotton and sugar have become necessities of life to the people of all countries; slave-labour is essential to their production; they cannot be grown profitably by free-labour; the well-being of the Southern States, then, as well as that of the world, depends upon the maintenance of Slavery. This is a gross presentation of the argument, but not more gross than the argument itself is sordid and indecent. It completely ignores all considerations of right and wrong, and proceeds on the assumption that God has so constituted mankind as to make the well-being of the great majority dependent upon the degradation of the minority—as to render it necessary that the latter be reduced to a level with dumb beasts, deprived of the right to liberty, property, and education, so as to secure wealth, comfort, power, and dignity to the former. It is impossible to explain away the atrocity of the logic. If sound, the Almighty, instead of being the equal Father of men, is the foremost oppressor of the universe. That it involves such a conclusion, proves it to be at once false and diabolical. Well-being can never depend upon wrong-doing. The rights of one class are not to be secured by depriving another class of all rights. Equal justice to all men, of whatever race or colour, grade or station, is the only foundation of solid prosperity. Money may be made by gambling, swindling, imposture, robbery, but do they promote the interests of society? Unjust monopolies and unequal laws may concentrate wealth in the hands of a few capitalists, but is the State honoured, benefited, and advanced by the consequent oppression and impoverishment of its masses?

"We deny that Slavery is anywhere profitable, using the term in its largest sense. It may create great wealth in a few hands, but it pauperizes and imbrutes the large class of labourers, limits the field of enterprise to white men, who are



neither slave-owners nor slaves, detracting from their consequence, and exiling them from their homes, thus retarding population; paralyses invention, fosters popular ignorance, keeps down trade and manufactures, and, by constraining capital and labour to the production of a few staples, prevents that varied industry, and that developement of internal resources, necessary to independence. In all these ways, and in many others, it weakens a State, checks its progress, and is therefore unprofitable. It is the sheerest nonsense to attempt to compare the growth of the slave States with that of the free, in wealth, population, general intelligence, enterprise, improvements, or power.

"We deny that cotton and sugar cannot be grown profitably by free labour. There are no slaves in China, or in the British East and West Indies, and yet their hundreds of millions of inhabitants raise enough of both, not only for their own abundant supply, but for export. Free-labour furnishes to the masses of Great Britain and France the largest portion of their sugars, and produces nearly one half of all the cotton grown in the world. If it can raise these staples in China and the British Colonial possessions, it can raise them in the United States. The world is not, therefore, dependent upon slave-labour for these necessities.

"But, it may be said, they can be most largely and cheaply produced by it. And suppose corn and wheat could be most largely and cheaply produced by converting the free-labourers of the West into slaves, would it be a profitable speculation to do so, granting that it could be effected? You might enrich a few holders of slaves, but where would be the varied industry and enterprise that are now bearing the great West onward to the pinnacle of wealth and power? It is the curse of a country to be confined to the production of a few staples, and the species of labour that imposes this necessity is to the State a source, not of profit, but of poverty.

"It is a mere assumption, however, that slave-labour is more efficient than free-labour would be in this country, in the production of cotton and sugar. The theory has never been subjected to the test of experience. It will not do to appeal to the workings of free-labour in the cotton, sugar, and rice-fields of China or the Indies. The races that inhabit them have not the intelligence, skill, and energy of the race that controls this North-American continent. They have not the education and civilization that we have. What they have accomplished is no measure for our capacities. The cotton-growing region in the East Indies is far more extensive than ours; labour is abundant and cheap. Once the finest cotton was grown there, and the most exquisite fabrics were manufactured. But bad government, monopoly, and the machinery of England, destroyed the domestic manufactures; the East-India Company has been more intent on extorting wealth from the oppressed millions, than in elevating them, or developing the resources of the country. Enterprise has not been fostered among the people; the Government has acted as an oppressive landlord; and labour, without that hope of reward which more than supplies the place of compulsion, has become lax, careless, inept.

The article raised is inferior in quality, for the want of care, and, while enough to supply home wants, does not compete, as an export, with American cotton, because of the lack of enterprise and capital, and the want of sufficient means of transportation.

"Of what use would the cotton-fields and slave-labour of the South be, if their products could not be transported rapidly and cheaply to the great marts of commerce?

"Nor do the results of free-labour in the West Indies sustain the theory. Admit that the export of sugar and cotton from those islands have greatly decreased, the facts do not prove that free-labour in the United States would not ultimately be as productive in planting as slave-labour, or even more productive.

"Let us fairly understand them. It could not be expected that the labourers, who had been trained for many generations to habits of servile dependence, blind, unreasoning obedience, and utter irresponsibility, would, on their enfranchisement, become invested with the habits of men accustomed to think and act for themselves, and to rely upon their own energies. It would naturally require a long training as free men to undo the mischief wrought by Slavery; and, mean time, it might be expected that their labour would be less productive. In addition to this, there was comparatively little capital in the islands. Absenteeism, leaving the estates to the management of ignorant and selfish overseers, intent on immediate gains, without providing, by careful improvements, for permanent ones; absenteeism, draining the islands of a large portion of the profits of planting, to waste in living abroad, had left the Colonies poorly prepared for any radical change in its labour system. Besides, the great mass of the population, having been in Slavery, constituted in freedom the dominant class; while the few whites were generally inert, and incapable of making the best of such a change. A large portion of labour, too, as performed by women and children, was withdrawn from planting—the children to be sent to school, the women to take their place in the household, and another portion was turned to the growth of articles of subsistence. The immediate result was, a diminution of force in planting, and a decrease in the production of the great staples for export. And while this process was going on, there was little or no immigration of labourers. What inducements could the hardy men that are filling this continent have to turn aside to islands scarcely known to them, and oppressed by tropical heats!

"And yet, it is not true that the Colonies have been ruined by emancipation. Society is in a transition state; one or two generations may pass before the effects of Slavery shall disappear; but there are clear indications of steady progress. If the ruin exists, so often asserted by our pro-Slavery cotemporaries, how is it that our trade with the British West Indies is on the increase? Our imports from those Colonies, for some years before the Act of total emancipation in 1838, ranged from 1,200,000 dollars to 1,400,000 dollars. In 1840, they went down to 1,000,000 dollars; from 1841 to 1847 inclusive, ranged from 687,000 dollars to 885,000 dollars. At the

close of this period they began to go up. In 1849, they reached 947,000 dollars, and from that year have been gradually increasing, until, in 1854, they amounted to 1,126,000 dollars. They will soon reach the old point, and probably go beyond it. As to our exports, they have largely increased, shewing increased civilization in the Colonies, as that always multiplies wants. For many years before emancipation, our exports to the British West Indies rarely exceeded the value of 1,700,000 dollars. After emancipation they steadily increased, until, in 1853, their value was 4,162,000 dollars; and, in 1854, nearly 5,000,000 dollars. How can these facts be explained on the assumption that the Colonies have been ruined?

"But the policy of emancipation in the South would be exempt from many of the evils attendant on West-India emancipation. The Southern States do not lie within the tropics, and are free, to a great extent, from enervating heats. The white race is largely in the ascendant, and, should emancipation take place, would steadily increase its ascendancy. There is no absenteeism to steal away capital: the owners live on their plantations, and expend their wealth at home. Far superior in intelligence, energy, and thrift, to the West-India planters, they would know how to accustom themselves to a change in their system of labour, and, as they themselves must be the authors of the change, if ever accomplished peacefully, they would know how to put it into operation with the least possible inconvenience. The immediate effect would doubtless be a diminution of labour, but Slavery, the great bar to immigration, having been removed, free immigrants would rapidly pour in to supply the demand; so that, although there might be a temporary decrease in the products of cotton and sugar cultivation, the large infusion of new, vigorous, and intelligent labour, would soon remedy the evil, and carry the production far beyond the ordinary point, and ultimately create all the forms of diversified industry characteristic of free society."

#### THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

WE find in the correspondence of the *Chatham* (C. W.) *Freeman*, the following highly-interesting official statement from the Directors of the Underground Railway Company, under date of April last:

"In my account of escapes, the names and residences of owners have been purposely suppressed, but the proper names of all the fugitives have been given. Doubtless many who have escaped remotely or recently, in this way, will be led, as in no other, to hear of dear relatives and friends. Husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, long separated, may be re-united. By this joyful intelligence many anxious and sad hearts will be cheered and encouraged to labour and hope for the redemption of their brethren in bondage. However, for the satisfaction of stockholders in the Underground Railroad, I will simply say that the Vigilance Committee hold themselves ready to give any information that may be expedient.

"No. 1. Abram Harris—Sick of hard usage and a cruel master. About the 1st of March, with but a trifling sum of money in hand, Abram bid his wife and children good bye, and, in company with a companion older than himself, 'trusting in God,' set out for Canada. The way they were to travel, the distance of the journey, the hunger and cold they would have to endure, they knew not of: nevertheless, without a guide, except the north star, they set their faces as a flint Canadaward. For nine days and nights, three days entirely without food, with snow and the cold weather to contend with, they made the best of their time. Thus, at the expiration of three weeks, he was able to repose in a place of comparative safety, where he could review his condition in Slavery: the seventy whom he had left to serve, and the daily flogging to which they were subjected by their cruel overseers: the sad parting with his wife and little ones were all prominent themes in his remarks at this time. A large book, instead of a brief chapter, might be written with interest on the subject. But it must suffice to add, in conclusion, only a few lines more.

"The increased rigour of his master was the cause of his escape: would have fled before, but 'hated to leave' his wife and children. About three weeks before leaving, the overseer shot one of his fellow-servants, a young man, wounding him severely; but as soon as he got well enough he also escaped. In stature Abram was medium size, tall, dark, aged about thirty-three, and quite intelligent, having learned to read. He was a member of 'The Mount Zion Church,' a 'speaker' occasionally; and expressed himself with unbounded gratitude to God for his deliverance. With indications of consumption from the heavy cold and cough he had contracted from exposure on the way, I think 500 dollars would be a fair estimate for him, the way such property is now selling in the market.

"No. 2. Henry Prede—Physically, Henry is a giant. About twenty-seven years of age, stout and well-made, quite black, and no fool, as will appear presently. Only a short time before he escaped his master threatened to sell him South. To avoid that fate, therefore, he concluded to try his luck on the Underground Railroad. Hence, in company with seven others, two of them females, he started for Canada. For two or three days and nights they managed to out-general all their adversaries, and succeeded bravely in making the best of their way to a free State.

"In the mean time, however, a reward of 3000 dollars was offered for their arrest. This temptation was too great to be resisted, even by the man who had been entrusted with all their interest, and who had faithfully promised to pilot them to a safe friend, thus being under his guidance, about two hours before day. One night, under the delusion of their pretended conductor, they were all taken into Dover Jail, where the sheriff, and several other colleagues, who had been notified beforehand by the betrayer, were in readiness to receive them. Up stairs they were taken in the dark, and the sheriff asked if they were 'not cold;' said they would 'soon give them a good warming,' &c.



On a light being lit they discovered the iron bars, and hence the fact that they had been betrayed. Their liberty-loving spirits and purposes, however, did not quail. Though resisted brutally by the sheriff, with revolver in hand, they made their way down one flight of stairs, and, in the moment of excitement, as good luck would have it, plunged into the sheriff's private apartment, where his wife and children were sleeping. The wife cried murder lustily. A shovelful of fire, to the great danger of burning the premises, was scattered over the room; out of the window jumped two of the female fugitives. Our hero, Henry, seizing a heavy hand-iron, smashed out the window entire, through which the balance leaped, a distance of twelve feet. The railing or wall around the jail, though at first look forbidding, was soon surmounted by a desperate effort.

"At this stage of the proceedings Henry found himself without the walls, and also lost sight of his comrades at the same time. The last enemy he spied was the sheriff in his stockings without shoes. He snapped his pistol at him, but it did not go off. Six of the others, however, marvellously got off safely together: where the eighth one went, or how he got off, I cannot say, though I have been credibly informed that he did succeed.

"For so 'likely' a looking 'boy' as Henry I judge 1600 dollars a small estimate. If he proves as manly in Canada as he did in achieving his freedom, he will doubtless make his mark.

"No. 3. Daniel Hughes—Daniel is one of the eight alluded to above. In stature he is well made, dark chestnut colour, and intelligent, possessing an ardent thirst for liberty. The cause of his escape, 'was worked hard in all sorts of weather—in rain and snow,' so he thought he would 'go where coloured men are free.' His master was 'considered the hardest man around.' His mistress was 'eighty-three years of age,' 'drank hard,' was 'very stormy,' and a 'member of the Methodist Church' (Airy's Meeting-house). Worth 1800 dollars.

"No. 4. Anthony Loney—Anthony is about twenty-five years of age, medium size, interesting and intelligent, and was a member of the Baptist Church. His master was a Presbyterian; would have family prayers with his servants but failed to impress Anthony with their virtue. Left behind his parents, one sister, and four brothers, all in bondage except his father who has purchased himself. His mother, however, being old and past labour, was allowed to go free also. Worth in the market 1000 dollars.

"No. 5. Thomas Elliot—Thomas is twenty-three years of age, quite black, well made, wide awake, and seemed to set a high estimate upon his liberty. He was also one of the eight who were betrayed into Dover Jail, as has been alluded to in a preceding chapter. Judging from his organization and physical development, he is a powerful young man. Worth 1500 dollars.

"No. 6. Cornelius Scott—Cornelius passed himself off as a white man, his complexion being of the approved stamp. He is of medium size, twenty-three years of age, and in intellect about mediocrity for one in his condition. Ill-treatment from his drunken master was the cause

of his escape. Left his mother and one brother in bonds. Owing to his being so very fair he is valued at the low price of 500 dollars.

"No. 7. Samuel Williams—Samuel has been owned by a widow woman, who was thought by him to be '*one of the worst women ever lived!*' 'Could not be pleased nohow;' was always fretting and going on; '*the servants in the house were treated worse than dogs.*' She was a member of the Presbyterian Church. Samuel is thirty-two years of age, well made, prepossessing and stout. Fled to keep from being sold. Valued at 1200 dollars.

"No. 8. Richard Bracher—The following significant notice of Richard was handed to me a day or two since by a friend:

**"ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD!**

—My negro man Richard has been missing since Sunday night, March 22d. I will give 100 dollars to any one who will secure him or deliver him to me. Richard is thirty years old, but looks older; very short legs, dark but rather bright colour, broad cheek bones, a respectful and serious manner, generally looks away when spoken to, small moustache and beard (but he may have them off). He is a remarkably intelligent man, and can turn his hand to any thing. He took with him a bag made of Brussels carpet, with my name written in large, rough letters on the bottom, and a good stock of coarse and fine clothes, among them a navy cap and a low-crowned hat. He has been seen about New Kent, C. H., and on the Palmunky river, and is no doubt trying to get off in some vessel bound North.

"J. W. RANDOLPH, Richmond, Va.

"April 18th, 1857.

"If it will be any satisfaction to Mr. Randolph, I take pleasure in informing him that Richard is now reposing under his own 'vine and fig-tree' in Canada. When he was seen on the Underground Railroad, on his way, he did not complain of bad treatment as a slave; said he had been used well all his life, but 'was tired of serving, and wanted to get married.' Hence, a week or so before starting he turned his hand to getting his intended off to Canada; succeeded in getting her some hundred of miles from home; then followed on in pursuit, overtook her, had the matrimonial ceremonies performed, and went on his way rejoicing. For this piece of information Mr. Randolph will not be called upon to pay.

"No. 9. Lewis Cobbs—Lewis was of medium size, complexion light yellow, good looking and intelligent, and belonged to the Second Baptist Church. He fled from a merchant, who 'was a very hard man,' 'who could not be satisfied with the services of his slaves,' however faithful they might be. Being dissatisfied, for eight months Lewis was constantly striving to escape. His master and all his family were members of the Methodist Church. Left his father and one brother in Slavery. 1200 dollars had been offered for Lewis.

"No. 10. Nancy Brister—Nancy's modest, neat, genteel and becoming appearance would alone be a sufficient guarantee of her fitness, not only to make an excellent house-servant, but

also a superior woman. True, she was quite young, only nineteen years of age, dark chestnut colour, intelligent and pleasant in manner. Left because of ill-treatment from her mistress, who was in the habit of 'treating' her cruelly even after she was eighteen years of age. Left her mother, one brother, and one sister in bondage. She was the choice of Mr. Bracher, alluded to above, and was aided largely by his exertions in getting away, for which she seemed very grateful.

"No. 11. Henry Anderson—In outward appearance Henry is uninteresting. As he asserts, and his appearance indicates, he has experienced a large share of 'rugged' usage. Being far in the South, and in the hands of a brutal captain of a small boat, chances of freedom, or of moderate treatment, rarely had ever presented themselves in any aspect. On the 3d of March he was sold to a trader—the thought of whose control was so terrible, he was moved thereby to escape, leaving his wife, to whom he had only been married three months. Age twenty-five, quite black, and little below the medium size. Brought 1000 dollars at the sale.

"Nos. 12 and 13. Charles Congo and his wife, Margaret—Charles and his wife were fortunate in managing to flee together. Their attachment seemed exceedingly mutual. They were both owned by a farmer who resided in—, though he did not require their services at home, as he had more of that kind of stock than he had use for: hence he hired them out to another farmer—Charles for 105 dollars per annum; how much for the wife they could not tell. She, however, was not blessed with health, though she was favoured none the more on that account. Charles's sympathies and affection for his wife, on seeing how hard she had to labour when not well, aroused him to seek their freedom by flight—to spare no pains nor rest contented till they were both free. Accordingly the Underground Road was sought and found: hence their success. Charles is twenty-eight, with a good head and face, as well as otherwise well made; chestnut colour, and intelligent, though unable to read. Left two sisters in bondage. Worth 1200 dols.

"Margaret is about the same age as her husband—a nice-looking, brown-skinned woman, worth 500 dollars.

"Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 17. Chaskey Brown, William Henry Washington, James Alfred Frisley, and Charles Henry Salter—Chaskey is about twenty-four years of age, quite black, medium size, sound and intelligent in appearance, as well as in practice on his master's farm: he resembles the 'farm hand' in every particular. His master was a certain 'Major,' and the owner of a farm with eighteen men, women, and children, to toil for him. In disposition he was very 'abuseful and profane,' though 'old and grey-headed.' His wife was 'pretty much the same kind of a woman as he was a man.' Chaskey was a member of the 'Still Pond Church' of —. In escaping, he was obliged to leave his wife and one child. Valued at 1200 dollars.

"William Henry is about twenty years of age, and belonged to a doctor, who hired him out to a farmer. Not relishing the idea of having to

work all his life in bondage, destitute of all his privileges, he resolved to seek a refuge in Canada. Left his mother, four sisters, and two brothers. Price 1200 dollars.

"James is twenty-four years of age, well made, quite black, and pretty shrewd. He was unable to see how it was that he should be worked, and flogged, and sold, at the pleasure of a master, and 'getting nothing,' when he 'had rather work' for himself. His master was a 'speckled face—pretty large stomach man,' 'but was not very abuseful.' He only owned one other. For James, I suppose, 1200 dollars would be about a fair price.

"Charles Henry is about thirty years of age, of good proportion, nice-looking, and intelligent; but to rough usage he was no stranger. To select his own master was a privilege not allowed: indeed, privileges of all kinds were rare with him. Hence he resolved to flee. Left his mother, three sisters, and five brothers, in Slavery. He was a member of the 'Albany Chapel,' of —. Valued at 1200 dollars.

"Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21. Stephen Taylor, Charles Brown, Charles Henry Hollis, and Luther Dorsey—Stephen is a prepossessing young man, of twenty years of age: fled to keep from being sold. His master was a 'tall, spare-face, man with long whiskers, very wicked, and very quick tempered.' His wife also was a very 'close woman.' Left one brother in Slavery. Valued at 1200 dollars.

"Charles Brown is about twenty-five years of age, quite black, and bears the marks of having been used hard: though his hearty and stout appearance would render him very desirable to a trader. He had a 'pretty bad man' for a master, who was 'always a quarrelling: would drink, swear, and lie.' Left simply because he never got anything for his labour. On taking his departure for Canada, he was called upon to bid adieu to his mother and three brothers, all under the yoke. Worth 1200 dollars.

"Charles Henry is really a good-looking young man, only twenty years of age, and seems to possess double as much natural sense as he will require to take care of himself. Left because his master 'did not treat him right.' He was a tall man, with large black whiskers, forty years of age, and owned Charles's two sisters. Price 1400 dollars.

"Luther Dorsey is about nineteen years of age, rather smart, black, well made, and seems well calculated for a Canadian. He was prompted to escape purely from the desire to be 'free.' He fled from a 'very insulting man.' He was a low, chunky man, with grum look, big mouth, &c., and was a member of the German Reformed Church. 'Don't swear, though might as well, he was so bad other ways.'

"Luther was a member of the Methodist Church. Left his father: his mother had wisely escaped to Canada years back, when he was but a boy.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

RUNAWAY SLAVES.—On Sunday last three slaves—two belonging to Mr. J. Sanford, and one to Mr. J. Berry—made tracks from Henry county, Kentucky. They were traced across the



Ohio river, and on Monday discovered hidden in the brush and behind logs, about four miles back from the river, on Kane's branch. The negroes, being armed, made a desperate resistance; and one of them, belonging to Berry, while in the act of shooting Mr. James Humphreys, one of his pursuers, was shot, and instantly killed. The second escaped, the third was arrested and taken back to Kentucky.—*Cincinnati Commercial*, June 24.

**A HARD CASE.**—In 1850, William L. Chaplin, of New York, was arrested in the district of Columbia on the charge of aiding in the escape of two slaves. At the earnest solicitation of his friends, S. Parker, William Blanchard, and David A. Hall, citizens of this place, two of them, at least, not identified with the anti-slavery cause, generously became his sureties to the amount of 6000 dollars. A sum of money, covering a portion of this, was put in their hands as a guarantee, but Chaplin having also been arrested on a similar charge in Maryland, and bail demanded to the amount of 19,000 dollars, at the urgent solicitation of his friends, they surrendered this money, so that the necessary bail might be secured in Maryland, on the express assurance that it should be refunded them.

Chaplin failed to appear, his recognizance was forfeited, that money was never repaid, and the gentlemen above named were held responsible. By the exertions of disinterested parties at the North, they were enabled to pay 3500 dollars, leaving 2500. The Marshal was forbearing, but the time has come when delay can be accorded no longer. One of the number, Mr. Parker, a man of limited means, has been sold out at a ruinous sacrifice, to satisfy a part of the law's demands, and the same process hangs over others, their property about to be advertised.

In their extremity they have sent out a Circular to the liberal men of the country, and we do hope that it may generously be responded to. They ought to be saved from harm. Twenty-five hundred dollars is a very heavy burden for them, but, distributed among some thousands of anti-slavery men, is no burden at all.—*National Era*.

**JUDGE TANEY'S DRED SCOTT DECISION** continues to be used by the coloured people in a way that the Judge did not probably contemplate. The *Bangor Whig* says:

"David Sands v. William L. Barronett, action of debt for 20 dollars, balance of account. The defendant being of 'African descent,' and 'having no rights which white men are bound to respect,' put in a special plea, that, under the late decision of the U. S. Supreme Court by Judge Taney, he is not a citizen of the United States, and therefore cannot sue in any Court, *nor be sued*. The learned counsellor for the plaintiff, being a hunker of the most hunkerish stripe, immediately upon reading the plea, wilted, and allowed a nonsuit. It is maliciously said, in groups where politicians do most congregate, that the counsellor had fears for his political standing if he dared oppose the decision of Judge Taney, which is universally received by the democratic press as a part of their party creed. The defendant, 'guilty of a skin not coloured like our own,' departed from the awful presence of Judge Pratt with a smiling face, and humming snatches of

'The de'il came fiddling through the town.'"

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1857.

### AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.

WE have only room in our present Number to record the presentation to Lord Palmerston, on Wednesday, the 15th ult., of a Memorial from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, on the subject of African immigration to the West Indies. The Committee had not twenty-four hours' notice of his Lordship's intention to receive a Deputation, an interval so brief as to preclude the attendance of many persons favourable to the objects of the Memorial. The Deputation consisted of J. I. Briscoe, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. Dr. Carlile; the Revs. H. Richards, W. Owen, and J. Phillippo; Messrs. T. H. Gladstone, W. Ferguson, C. W. Gregory, L. A. Gregory, S. Bourne, W. Miles, Jos. Cooper, R. Forster, S. Sturge, and L. A. Chamerovzow. The following is the text of the Memorial:

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD PALMERSTON.

"27, New Broad Street, July 6, 1857.

"MY LORD,—The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have observed, with considerable anxiety and alarm, the movement recently set on foot for obtaining an unlimited supply of immigrant labour for the British West-India Colonies. The subject is one which has occupied their attention for many years, and they therefore feel themselves imperatively called upon to offer to your Lordship a few remarks upon it, which a long and extended experience suggests.

"In the first place, the Committee object to the principle of importing foreign labour to supersede that of the Creole, as being contrary to sound political economy. The natural equilibrium between demand and supply is thereby destroyed, and a power of regulating and fixing the price of wages is given to the employer, which is wholly inconsistent with the free-labour system, and is, in fact, an element of Slavery.

"In the second place, experience has proved that it is hopeless to expect to preserve any proportion between the sexes. The emigration of Indian and Chinese women is contrary to the social usages of their country, sooner than outrage which, and incur the consequences, they would endure any amount of suffering, and even death. On the other hand, an exclusively male immigration to the colonies, which, under the circumstances the Committee have adverted to, is the only kind that can take place, is calculated to inflict great injury on the community, whilst it directly tends to provoke the commission of immorality in its grossest and most hideous form.

"The Committee do not think it needful to do more than advert to the fearful mortality which has taken place under the present system of im-

migration, amounting, according to official returns, to 25 per cent. of the number of immigrants originally removed from their homes, but feel it incumbent upon them to dwell upon the fearful abuses incidental to the obtaining of Coolies, especially from China. They have the authority of Sir John Bowring, as published in his correspondence with Her Majesty's Government, for asserting, that in its essential features this traffic in labour does not differ from the old African slave-trade in its worst form. It is notorious that kidnapping, fraud, and misrepresentation are commonly practised to obtain Chinese immigrants, the majority of whom are ignorant of the nature of the contracts they are induced to sign, and often of the country to which they are about to be conveyed.

"It is, however, chiefly to the proposed scheme of obtaining labourers from Africa that the Committee desire to direct your Lordship's serious attention. It is based upon the idea of voluntary contracts, which the Committee venture to assert will be found utterly impracticable. Domestic Slavery is unhappily at present an essential feature of the social institutions of Africa. It may, as is asserted, exist in a comparatively mild form, being what is called patriarchal in its character. Nevertheless, the persons who are thus circumstanced are entirely under the control of their masters, and therefore are not in a position to enter into arrangements for quitting their country. The extent to which this system of domestic slavery exists may be judged of by a reference to the narratives and experience of African travellers and merchants, according to which it would appear to embrace so large a proportion of the labouring population, that the number who are free to leave their country is comparatively insignificant, while very few even of that small number would consent to quit it under any circumstances. The idea of immigration treaties with the native kings and chiefs is based upon the knowledge of the existence of this peculiar social system, and of the power they possess of coercing and disposing of their people. Such treaties, therefore, cannot be entered into without violating the very principle upon which the plan of free contracts is advocated, and which, it is obvious, are utterly irreconcilable with the present state of native society in Africa.

"Another most serious objection to the scheme is, that by expatriating the native population, a fatal check will be given to the spirit of industry and enterprise, which, as was anticipated, has happily sprung up on the coast, and is rapidly diffusing itself; and which has operated so beneficially, that a legitimate commerce in palm-oil alone, to the extent of nearly two millions sterling annually, has superseded slave-trading in the very localities where it used to be prosecuted most vigorously. There is no reason why, in the course of time, the same labour and skill which

are now applied to produce and manufacture palm-oil, should not be extended to the growth of sugar and cotton, for the cheaper production of which immigrant labour to the West Indies is sought to be obtained. The Committee are of opinion that this would be by far the more legitimate, because the more natural mode of suppressing the slave-trade, assuming always that Her Majesty's Government continues unsuccessful in its endeavours to induce Spain to fulfil the treaties with this country which she has entered into for that express purpose.

"When so many forcible objections exist to the principle of the proposed plan, which it will be found indispensable to remove before it can be carried out, it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon secondary points. To the principle of free emigration the Committee have never been opposed. It is the result of a natural law, the operation of which no legislation can stay, though it may check it. Were the Africans in a position to emigrate, as the Chinese have done to California under regulations of their own, in vessels chartered by themselves, under leaders of their own selection, induced thereto by the prospect of greater advantages in a foreign country than their own presents, the case would be wholly different. Under such circumstances, they must incur the chances of the labour-market, and be content to compete with the Creole on his own ground. But to promote a scheme which, though advocated ostensibly for the interests of free-labour, is directly subversive of its primary conditions, would, it appears to the Committee, be highly dangerous, and inevitably lead to the very gravest abuses.

"The Committee feel that they should not be discharging their duty, did they not, in conclusion, take this opportunity of protesting against the assumed necessity for immigrant labour to our West-India Colonies. It does not agree with the accounts that have only quite recently been received from persons resident there, whose long experience and means of obtaining information entitle their statements on this subject to implicit confidence. The population of our West-India Colonies has largely increased since emancipation, and the testimony is unanimous, that, when fair wages are given for a day's work, and those wages are punctually and honourably paid, there is little difficulty in obtaining an abundance of labour.

"The Committee rejoice to find that Her Majesty's Government is alive to the danger of sanctioning the proposed scheme, and earnestly trust that your Lordship will not only steadfastly resist any attempt to prosecute it, but will use your influence to discourage its promotion by foreign Governments.

"Signed, on behalf of the Committee,

"G. W. ALEXANDER, *Treasurer.*

"LOUIS ALEXIS CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*"



To complete our record, we must note that, quite late in the month of June, Lord Brougham put a question to the Earl of Clarendon, requesting to be informed whether the British Government had any official notification of the fact of the French Government's having contracted with a Marseilles house for the supply of 20,000 negroes from Africa, to be conveyed to Martinique and Guadeloupe; to which the Earl of Clarendon replied in the negative. On the 6th of July ult. the question was revived by Lord Brougham, who said he found he had exaggerated the number of free negroes about to be conveyed to the French colonies from the coast of Africa. He understood that the number was not 20,000, as he had stated, but 10,000. He was sure that no scheme for the revival of the slave-trade would obtain the assent of the Emperor of the French, and he also felt confident that no one would regard such a scheme with more suspicion than his noble friend (Lord Clarendon). It must be admitted that there was the greatest difference between carrying off free negroes, or whatever they might be called, to a slave colony, and carrying them to colonies in which Slavery was abolished. Yet as regarded the Africans, even although they might be carried to colonies in which Slavery was abolished, yet any scheme of this kind ought to be viewed with distrust, and to be most carefully and scrupulously watched.

The EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said that some misunderstanding existed with regard to a Deputation that recently waited upon the First Lord of the Treasury on this subject. The main object of that Deputation was to represent some facts connected with the increase of the slave-trade, and the necessity of repressing it, not so much on the coast of Africa, as by means of additional gunboats and steamers on the shores of Cuba. The want of free-labour in some of the colonies was certainly a matter of discussion among that Deputation, and one gentleman gave an opinion on that subject. But as far as he (the Earl of Shaftesbury) and others were concerned, their opinion was, that to endeavour to set on foot a scheme for carrying free negroes from the coast of Africa would be to all intents and purposes a revival of the slave-trade, the most accursed crime that ever was perpetrated.

The EARL OF MALMESBURY thought that if it could be clearly shewn that the conveyance of free negroes to free colonies would lead to a revival of the slave-trade there would be an end of the matter. On the score both of philanthropy and commerce, it was, however, worthy of consideration, when millions of acres elsewhere were lying uncultivated for want of negro-labour, whether the negroes were to be always confined to the shores of Africa. He trusted that their

Lordships and the Government would not take it for granted that any efforts or experiments in the direction which the French Government were now taking must inevitably result in the revival of the horrors of the slave-trade.

The EARL OF CLARENDON had made inquiry into the matter, in consequence of the speech delivered by his noble and learned friend, and he found that the condition of the assent of the French Government to the contract was, that it should be an engagement of free-labourers, and that the negroes should be sent to those colonies where labour was wanted. It was intended to take all possible securities against abuses; but he agreed with his noble and learned friend that no plan of this sort could be safely carried out without a liability to the revival of the slave-trade.

On this subject the *Daily News* had the following paragraph:

"Though the Earl of Clarendon has no official information of the fact, it is nevertheless quite true that the French Government have entered into a contract with a Marseilles house for the supply of 10,000 (not 20,000) Africans to Guadeloupe and Martinique. This contract was, it seems, signed by the French Minister of Marine and Foreign Affairs of the one part, and MM. Regis, of Marseilles, of the other part, on the 13th of March last.

"It stipulates that the latter are, within three years, or, if possible, in less time, to transport 5000 blacks to Guadeloupe, and as many to Martinique, there to work under an engagement for ten years at the wages of twelve francs fifty centimes a month, out of which each negro so imported has to pay, at the rate of two francs a month, the cost of his transport from Africa to this paradise for blacks, which is estimated at 200 francs. MM. Regis undertake to employ in this service large steam-vessels capable of containing 800 passengers, and for each adult emigrant, male or female, they are to receive 500 francs, or 20l. sterling. One of these steamers has, we are assured, already sailed.

"If the contract contain any stipulations binding the Messieurs Regis to ship only negroes who voluntarily tender themselves for emigration, or not to pay money to induce negroes to come on board their vessels, the abstract which has been allowed to transpire makes not the smallest reference to such stipulations. So far as appears, no restrictions whatever are placed on the contractors: they have the entire coast of Western Africa (except, of course, the British settlements, where, thank God, they cannot come) to operate upon; they may obtain the blacks whence and how they can: all that the French Government apparently care for is the arrival of 10,000 in their colonies, where they are to be condemned to labour for ten years, at wages less for a month than the current value of work for a week in the adjoining British possessions.

"This is an entirely new phase in the history of the slave-trade. For the first time we have an European and Christian Government enter-

ing into a contract for the transport, in thousands, of that class of human beings who are supposed to be nearly lowest in the scale of human intelligence; who have hitherto shewn no disposition to leave their own country; who in Africa have no Government to look after, guard, and protect their interests; who live there in abundance and plenty; who are gradually applying their labour to production in their own country; and who have heretofore been, and still are, the victims of the most barbarous traffic that ever afflicted and cursed mankind.

"This is a commerce—for the whole affair is one of bargain and sale—which, if permissible at all, ought to have been surrounded by every safeguard that humanity and ingenuity could suggest. It ought to have been confined at first to the French settlements, where the French authorities could have supervised and reported on it; it ought, if it ever extended beyond them, to have been limited to places where the slave-trade had been long since extinct, where the French Government has Consuls of knowledge and experience of the localities: above all, wherever carried on, the amplest securities ought to have been taken that the emigration was really free and unbribed. When we find no such limitation, no such securities, the deplorable inference must be drawn, that so long as the French colonies obtain 10,000 Africans to work for ten long weary years on their sugar-fields, at wages miserably inadequate for a good day's work, the French Government does not care very much whence or how these labourers are obtained."

The subject also received the attention of the House of Commons on the 10th ult., in consequence of a question addressed to Lord Palmerston by Mr. Turner. We quote the report of the conversation from the *Times* of the 11th:

"Mr. TURNER rose to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether any communication had taken place between the English and French Governments respecting the export of negroes from the west coast of Africa to the French colonies in the West Indies, and whether he was aware in what manner the negroes were to be obtained. He said the matter had excited considerable interest out of doors, as this country had made great sacrifices, both in treasure and blood, for the suppression of the slave-trade. Even Brazil, to which country justice had scarcely been done, had suppressed that traffic, but to the surprise of all persons, it was made known, a short time since, that one of the first nations in Europe had entered into an arrangement to obtain a supply of labourers for its West-India colonies under the title of an emigration of free negroes from Africa. Those who, like himself, had any long experience of the African trade, knew that the idea of a free emigration of negroes was perfectly unfounded; and if the French Government attempted to convey negroes from the west coast of Africa, they would, in truth and in fact, effect the revival of the slave-trade. The hon gentleman proceeded to state, that if the attempt were persevered in, the negroes would be driven down

to the coast like cattle, probably to Whydah, Assinie, and Grand Bassam; and, under whatever name the proceeding might be carried on, it would be nothing short of a revival of the execrable slave-trade.

Sir E. BUXTON said he believed it was an undoubted fact, that persons taken from the east coast of Africa had been conveyed as free colonists to the Isle of Bourbon, and that there they practically remained slaves, either for a long term of years or for their whole lives. He wished the noble lord at the head of the Government to say whether he knew any thing of that practice.

Lord PALMERSTON.—The Government had information, some time ago, that a contract had been made by persons in Martinique with a French firm for the supply of 1200 free negroes, who, it was said, were to be brought from the coast of Africa. The Government felt the full force of the objections to this proceeding, as stated by the hon. member. Though Slavery is abolished in the French colonies, and though negroes conveyed there must necessarily by law be free men, subject to a certain period of apprenticeship, yet the importation of a number of free negroes from Africa would, in all probability, degenerate into the slave-trade, as far as Africa is concerned, and be attended with all the evils of that trade. An attempt has been made to obtain free immigrants from the west coast of Africa for our own West-India Colonies. The attempt has, however, failed. The negroes are not disposed to emigrate and to go across the seas, and there is, therefore, a great probability that the French Government will be equally unsuccessful in obtaining really free emigrants; and that, if this contract is carried into execution, it will be productive, to the extent to which it is carried out, of a revival of the evils of the slave-trade in Africa. These considerations have been confidentially communicated to the French Government. They have assured us that it is their anxious desire that this arrangement should not be productive of a renewal of the slave-trade, and that every care will be taken to prevent the recurrence of such an evil. So the matter now stands. Of course, it will be the duty of Her Majesty's Government to obtain all the information they can, so that, if their fears are realized, they may bring to the knowledge of the French Government that their intentions are overpassed, and that what they wish to prevent has taken place. I cannot have any doubt that the French Government would in that case put an end to a proceeding which would be contrary, not only to all the feelings of humanity, but to those treaty arrangements which, in common with other countries, have been taken by France with regard to the slave-trade. My hon. friend (Sir E. Buxton) asks me whether Her Majesty's Government have any information with respect to the Isle of Bourbon. We have information, but not from an authentic source, that there has been an emigration from the east coast of Africa to the Isle of Bourbon. I cannot state to what extent that emigration has proceeded, nor can I say in what manner the negroes have been obtained."



### REVIVAL OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

LORD BROUGHAM has been especially alert of late on the subject of the proposed new immigration scheme, and the friends of humanity have reason to rejoice in the fact that the champion of the African race retains, at his advanced age, those vigorous mental qualities which enabled him, in years past, to carry out, in spite of formidable opposition, the measures which he had conceived for the abolition of the slave-trade. Our crowded columns preclude us from doing more than placing on record the report of the proceedings in the House of Lords on Friday the 17th inst. It is, however, satisfactory to know that the British Government has expressed its disapproval of the new immigration scheme, on account of the obvious danger of its degenerating into the slave-trade; and we trust that the representations which it has addressed to the French Government will not be without effect.

"The MARQUIS DE CLANRICARDE, who had a notice upon the paper of his intention to present a petition from Guiana, praying for the removal of certain impediments to the importation of free-labourers into that colony, said that he would give way to his noble and learned friend, believing that the discussion of this subject would be favourable to the views of the petitioners.

"LORD BROUGHAM, in rising to move an address on the subject of the African slave-trade, said, that when he considered the very great importance of the question which he was about to bring before their lordships, he could not avoid expressing his agreeable surprise at finding so many of their lordships now present; for the subject had nothing to do with party; it had nothing personal to recommend it; it had none of those points that generally created a gathering together, he would not say in both Houses, but in that House of Parliament. It rather belonged to that class of questions of which Mr. Canning once said, 'Vital questions, as they are called, are those questions which nobody cares two straws about.' He could not say, however, that the present question came within that category, for there was, both in Parliament and out of it, a very strong feeling, as well as a deeply-rooted conviction of the importance of the subject which he should now proceed shortly to bring before their lordships. It was with very great pain and no little astonishment that he first heard of the measures lately adopted in France. He felt perfectly assured that the sovereign of that country was wholly incapable of lending his countenance to any measures that tended to revive the African slave-trade. He said so, in the first place, on account of his family connection with him who first, in France, abolished that execrable traffic. The 'Most Christian Kings' had, one after another, allowed that traffic to continue, and even to flourish, and had, indeed, all the while encouraged instead of suppressing it. It was reserved for the first Napoleon to do that act of his life which reflected the most honour upon him; he

would say, indeed, the only act of his life in which he shewed himself the friend of human rights and human liberties. It was reserved for him, at once and for ever, to abolish the African slave-trade. He could not, therefore, believe that he, who so naturally prided himself upon his near relationship to that great and distinguished individual, would take a different course, and lend his countenance to measures, with respect to which he had probably been ill-advised, deceived, and misled. The Emperor of the French, no doubt, believed that the project in question had none of that tendency to the revival of the slave-trade which he thought he could prove to their lordships, without doubt or question, it possessed. He could not believe it possible that His Imperial Majesty had been otherwise than misled, misinformed, and deceived. When he considered those by whom His Imperial Majesty was surrounded, and to whom he had given, in ecclesiastical matters, so much of his confidence—namely, those ministers of religion to whose policy His Imperial Majesty seemed inclined to lean—he felt certain that they must have told him of the offences committed by slave-traders being ranged in the denunciations of Holy Writ with the most hateful and disgusting crimes of which man could be guilty; crimes to which he dared not even allude, except to say that they were not worse than the slave-trade. When this was well represented to His Imperial Majesty, and especially when he found that their lordships, and that the Government of this country, viewed with great suspicion all that was now doing or attempting to be done, he hoped that His Majesty would view these transactions with the same jealous suspicion of their possible consequences, and that he would be thus furnished with a sufficient answer to the importunities of his colonial subjects, to which for the present, and under a misapprehension of the facts and consequences, he seemed to have given way. Without further preface, he would proceed to state how it was that licences had been given to certain mercantile adventurers, or to certain agents, as it had even been said, of the French Government, to import a limited number of free negroes into the French West-India colonies. Now, such a scheme as that must end in a renewal of the internal African slave-trade. From the representations which had been made to him by a learned friend of his, Mr. Fitzpatrick, who filled the important office of judicial assessor on the Gold Coast for a period of six years, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the Messrs. Regis, of Marseilles, as well as their representatives upon the Gold Coast, he had ascertained that all those gentlemen were most respectable merchants; so that, in the information which he had received in reference to them from Mr. Fitzpatrick, prejudice against them could not be said to have a share. What, then, was the proposition which, according to Mr. Fitzpatrick, was made upon the part of those gentlemen? Why, that the Africans being slaves in their own country, should be induced to emigrate to the West Indies; that care should be taken that the contracts which might be entered into with them should be faithfully observed; that they should have the security of the Government officers for their proper treatment on the voyage to the West

Indies; that upon their arrival in that quarter they should have Government security for the exercise of kindness towards them upon the part of the masters to whom they were to be bound apprentices by indenture; and that if they at any time desired to return to their native country, they should be allowed to do so, and should be conveyed back at the charge of those by whom they had been taken to a foreign land. Thus, it was proposed to do for them, in short, every thing which humanity could suggest; but he would beg their lordships to bear in mind that they did not that evening hear for the first time of Africans being slaves in their own country, or of the great benefits which must result to them from their transmigration to the western hemisphere. He could recollect the assurances of a blessed change to be effected by such a transmigration, which had, in former times, been so confidently made. Looking back, over a period of sixty years, during which time he had had his share in promoting the abolition of the slave-trade, and had, at all events, with all the zeal and ability which he possessed, laboured for the attainment of that great object, he could not name a single discussion upon the subject in which language precisely similar to that to which he had just called their lordship's attention had not been used. He should not trouble the House with any lengthened quotations in proof of that statement, but he should advert to two or three instances, in order to shew how identical were the arguments which, in years gone by, had been advanced in favour of the slave-trade, and the reasons which were now put forward in support of the proposed system of free emigration. From the year 1788, down to the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, the views which had been expressed in opposition to the measure bore to one another a striking similarity. During the debates upon that question, General Thornton, who had then been member for Liverpool, had asserted that the Africans themselves entertained no objection to the slave-trade. He had, moreover, complained that those who held contrary opinions had been led away by a mistaken humanity, and had indignantly denied the misery which, it was said, had been inflicted upon those unfortunate negroes in the middle passage, during which he had contended that only five out of 500 of them died upon an average, while 10 per cent. of our own troops had perished on board the West-India transports. General Thornton had further cited, in support of his views, the authority of one governor, two admirals, one captain, a commodore, and a large number of naval officers, whom he had represented as friendly to the slave-trade, and as willing witnesses to the benefits which it conferred. Sir W. Young and Alderman Walton he (Lord Brougham) found had been the advocates of similar sentiments, the latter having gone so far as to contend that it was only necessary to go on board one of the slave ships, and to see those unfortunate negroes dancing and singing, in order to be satisfied that their lot was one of the greatest happiness. But it was unnecessary to advert to further instances in order to demonstrate to their lordships that exaggerated statements, and a complete perversion of facts, were not confined to the advocacy

of the plan of free emigration. They dated from a period even further back than 1788. The plan of free emigration had an ominous resemblance to the original scheme, by which it had been sought to bring about a state of things by which the cruelty which had been inflicted upon the native Indian tribes in America might be obviated, and their place supplied by the importation of negroes from Africa. That scheme, which he might term the union of short-sighted benevolence with far-sighted self-interest, it was which had first produced that monstrosity, the African slave-trade. In accordance with that plan, a licence to take out 4000 negroes from Africa had been obtained; a licence which had afterwards been annually renewed. The terms proposed to be offered to those negroes were 9s. a month, and it was said that negroes, having been purchased and liberated on the African coast, would immediately have their minds opened as to the nature of an indenture of apprenticeship, and would immediately enter into such indentures and go on board ship to be conveyed to the West Indies, at wages of 9s. a month. Now, the negro nature was completely misunderstood by those who advocated such a scheme. The negroes were naturally simple-minded and innocent, but they possessed almost—as did the ancient Egyptians—an absolute horror of the sea. That feeling had always been rooted in their nature, even before the commencement of the slave-trade, and it had gathered additional strength from that infernal traffic, and the middle passage connected with it. To propose, therefore, to free negroes to emigrate from Africa, and cross the ocean, was one of the wildest schemes which ever a perverted imagination had invented. With regard to the Kroomen, who were free negroes, what were the inducements which had to be held out to them before they would consent to go on board ship? Upon that subject he had the benefit of having received information from Mr. Fitzpatrick, a gentleman who had had great experience of the subject, and from the paymaster of one of Her Majesty's ships upon that coast, and he would inform their lordships what wages were necessary to tempt the Kroomen to go on board ship. Why, they were paid 8 dollars to 12 dollars a-month, with free rations, and then they would only ship themselves on condition that they were only to work upon the coast, and that they should be allowed to land when they pleased; and when the ship left the coast the Kroomen did invariably leave. His noble friend, Earl Grey, whose absence he regretted, and who felt strongly upon the subject, had made an attempt of the kind similar to that which their lordships were now called upon to countenance. Complaints had been made by the colonists of the want of hands, and great expectations were held out of the benefit of encouraging emigration of free negroes, and his noble friend was much disposed to lend some countenance to a scheme having that for its object. There was one proposal, however, which his noble friend could not listen to, and that was the one about which the planters were most anxious; it was what they called the removal of obstacles to the emigration of free labourers, but, in plain point of fact, removing obstacles in their minds implied the suspension of



the Abolition Act, which made the purchase of negroes, even for the purpose of liberating them, an offence punishable by transportation, and his noble friend most properly refused to listen to any such proposal. Now, with regard to the alleged want of hands in the colonies, what was the real cause of it? He would read to their lordships an extract from a letter written by Mr. Clark, a gentleman who had lived in Jamaica for twenty years, relating to that subject. Mr. Clark, in that letter, which was dated June 4th, 1855, stated:

"Agriculture and commerce are now looking up. The proprietors of estates who were wise and able enough to carry on their estates during the season of low prices, are now getting large returns; and (he goes on to say) still, notwithstanding the price of produce having more than doubled, the labourers are almost everywhere compelled to work at the same rate as when it was at the lowest ebb—9d. and 1s. a-day. The papers have, however, taken the matter up, and I hope that, ere long, 1s. 3d. and 1s. 6d. will be paid, without any agitation or strike on their part. There is again the old cry for immigration, especially from Africa; whereas our planters, who treat the people fairly and kindly, are getting all the labour they require; and if more be wanted they have but to increase the rate of wages, and their wants will be supplied more abundantly than by the importation of thousands of immigrants."

"In reply to the question as to whence those negroes were to come, Mr. Clark said that there were many at present working at the provision ground, or in tilling small farms, and in raising produce for the market, who would work on the plantations if their wages were increased to 15d. or 18d. a-day. As to obtaining negroes from Africa, that would present no difficulty. Only let it be known that so many pounds sterling would be given for each slave, in order to liberate him; only let it be known to the native chiefs that any captives taken in war would be ransomed; and he would answer for it that numbers of slaves would be brought for purchase; and that then, under the pretence of an indenture of apprenticeship, they would be carried across the sea to the new world. In order to supply a sufficient number of captives to be ransomed, wars would be undertaken by the native chiefs for the express purpose of taking captives, and bringing them down to the coast for sale. It had been said by Mr. Pitt—and God forbid that ever again there should be cause for its being repeated!—'Alas, you treat human beings as merchandise, and yet you do not give them the common benefit of the principle of all commerce, that the supply suits itself to the demand.' Would that the voice of that great man could then ring through those walls, and put down a most reprehensible attempt to revive the African slave-trade! 'Ubi, Pansa, illa tua vox quæ populum Romanum movere solebat, nihil homini fœdus servitute?' Although the natural character of the negro was simple and innocent, yet all who had visited the country agreed in saying that the African princes, and chiefly on account of this execrable traffic, had been inured to blood to a degree confined, he believed, to that quarter of

the globe. He was told that, on the death of the queen-mother of one of those States, some seventy years ago, 150 persons had been murdered on her grave; while, as if shewing the softening effect of the suppression of the slave-trade, when her son died, a short time back, there was no human sacrifice at all. This was not the only change. To this criminal traffic, or rather to this felony, had succeeded legitimate and innocent commerce. Great, and even rapid progress had been made, and the exportation of produce from Africa to this country now amounted to 2,000,000l. sterling; that was to say, that was the value of the goods sent from this country to be exchanged against that produce. In the article of palm-oil, the principal article of that commerce, upwards of 1,500,000l. was expended. This was what we were called upon to interrupt; this was the scene we were desired to darken; this was the prospect which we were told it was our duty to cut off—the prospect of improvement in trade, in the arts of peace, and in civilization. It was to this we were asked to put a stop, by sending men to purchase slaves under the pretence of ransoming captives taken in wars which would be made in consequence of the inducements which we had held out for the express purpose of making those captives, in order that they might be sold to us and carried away. He cited the authority of Mr. Fitzpatrick, and would read a letter from him, which more than confirmed the opinions which he had expressed. That gentleman said:

"The Africans are not a migratory people. If they were free to-morrow, and capable of understanding this contract for ten years' expatriation and servitude,' which he (Lord Brougham) need not tell their lordships the poor African could no more comprehend than he could a problem in the higher geometry, 'they would much rather become slaves in their own country than enter into it. The Kroomen, though fond of earning money to take back to their own country, after a short absence, and though tempted on board our cruisers by pay amounting to from 8 dollars to 12 dollars per month, with full rations, or their money value, equal to 7 dollars more per month, and employment on the element on which they are at home, will not enter into lengthened service; and to suppose that they would be induced, by a promise of 12½ francs per month, to go to a distant country for ten years, is absurd. The MM. Regis, however, propose to purchase the slave's freedom on condition of his at once emigrating for ten years' service in the French West Indies, and thus to establish a system of free emigration. It is difficult, I think, to discover in this plan the *punctum temporis* in which the subject of the operation is free. It merely provides a change of masters, with this peculiarity, that the new master and his country are to be far away, in regions of which the African never dreamed; and to Slavery, I apprehend, it is honours not enchantments which are lent by distance. It is idle to suppose that a poor African slave will look forward to his freedom, and a return to his country after ten years' service. It is a theory far too complex for his simple understanding. The slave, then, will not contract for a new and strange master in a distant land. But I am free to confess the master will; and, more—

over, he will perform his part of the contract. When his own stock is exhausted, he will prey upon his neighbour's: he will steal, and kidnap, and panyar, and those who have the requisite establishments will go out a-hunting. The King of Dahomey will take out both his packs—his male and female "dogs of war"—and every *petit* chief will do the like.

"He then stated that great improvement had taken place among the African princes, and, adding that the most difficult of all things was to teach the natives a regard for truth, said:

"One of the objections to this emigration scheme is, that it has all the appearance of a false pretence. No African will believe that a *dépôt* to receive emigrants at Whydah is any thing but a barracoen for slaves."

"He had received similar testimony from Mr. Forster, a highly respectable person, connected with the African trade. He took precisely the same view of the subject, and had printed his opinions in the newspapers. Having complained that he had been misrepresented, on account of having mentioned the probable fate of a slave who refused to go voluntarily on board ship, he continued:

"What I said referred to his treatment, in the hands of the native slave-dealer, before he is shipped, after he has been brought to the coast and sold.

"I deny that the native African is cruelly treated at home before he is sold. The natives of Africa are not a cruel people in their natural and social relations. I will undertake to say there are fewer murders among them, in proportion to the population, than there are in this country.

"If the slave-trade is to be revived in this new form, it may just as well be revived in its old shape. The consequences will be quite as bad, nay, in some respects, worse. A limited demand, in the way proposed, would bring more slaves from the interior than were wanted, and they would be starved in barracoens, while it would unsettle the mind of the people, and disturb and destroy legitimate trade as much as an unlimited traffic under the old system."

"He had not dwelt upon that which presented itself as an insuperable difficulty in the way of carrying out this emigration of negroes—he meant the impossibility of taking precautions which should give us a chance—he did not say a reasonable prospect, but even a chance of preventing the occurrence of the grossest evils in the course of the transport of the negroes. When they remembered that no person was allowed to embark on board a vessel going to Canada or any other of our own settlements, without the greatest care being taken to examine their fittings, her stowage, her accommodation for the number of persons proposed to be received on board, her provisions, and the medical attendance which had been provided, and, above all, to see that no more than the specified number were taken on board; and when they found that so strictly was this guarded by law, that the severest penalties were inflicted in the case of any shipment of free English subjects on board an English merchant vessel, except at a port where there was a custom-house and a staff of officers to make these

preliminary investigations; they must at once perceive the uselessness of any attempt to conduct, on the coast of Africa, a traffic of this sort, and to transport no intelligent Englishmen, but half-civilized, or less than half-civilized Africans. He did not think that he had any thing to add, except to quote the authority of Mr. Pitt, who was a great authority upon many subjects, and, in this, deserved the greatest possible attention and the most profound respect. Of all the able speeches marked by the majestic eloquence of that great man—of all the speeches with which he astonished and delighted his hearers, his celebrated oration upon the abolition of the slave-trade, delivered in the year 1791, held the first place. Some persons might think that his celebrated declamation upon the breaking out of the war equalled, but it certainly did not exceed it." In that speech Mr. Pitt summed up the atonement, which he trusted we were about to make for our long and cruel injustice to Africa. He expressed his hope, that in the evening of her days she was about to enjoy those blessings which had descended upon us at an earlier period of the world's history, and he closed his speech with this observation:

"This great and happy change, to be effected in the state of her inhabitants, is, of all the various and important benefits of the abolition, in my estimation, incomparably the most extensive and the most important."

"Some years later, he heard the same high authority, on the question of a grant to the colony of Sierra Leone, to which objections were taken on a false principle of economy, express his earnest hope, and even confidence, that the day would come when Africa would take her place in the scale of nations, and enter on a new and splendid career, free in herself, and freed for ever from the curse of that execrable traffic which had wasted her energies and destroyed her peace. He moved the following resolution:

"That the encouragement of emigration of negroes from the African coast to the West Indies, by the purchase and liberation of slaves, or the ransom of prisoners taken in war, even when this may not be held illegal, has a direct tendency to promote the internal slave-trade of Africa, and to obstruct the progress of its inhabitants in the arts of peace and course of civilization.

"That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to withhold her countenance from all such schemes among her subjects, and would use her best endeavours among Her Majesty's allies for engaging them to discountenance all projects which have a tendency to promote African emigration by any means, directly or indirectly, connected with the purchase of slaves or ransom of captives taken in war."

"The EARL OF CLARENDON.—I will not attempt to follow my noble and learned friend through the speech which he has addressed to your lordships, but I can assure him that I cordially concur in every word that has fallen from him on this subject; for he has correctly stated the opinion of the Government, and traced out with accuracy the course which they have pursued. My noble and learned friend has done no more



than justice to the Emperor of the French and the French Government, who, I am convinced, are as incapable as we are ourselves of intentionally giving encouragement, either directly or indirectly, to the slave-trade; but I rejoice that my noble and learned friend has brought forward this motion in the eloquent and impressive speech he has just delivered to your lordships, because, as all the world knows, my noble and learned friend has for a long series of years—sixty, he has informed us—been the indefatigable friend of the African race, and the successful opponent of the slave-trade; and any opinion of his on this subject will be received abroad with the same respectful attention that it is at home; while there, as here, it will be felt that my noble and learned friend would not have brought this question before your lordships in so solemn a manner, and asked you to agree to an address to the Crown, if he had not seen some cause, some strong necessity, for taking that step. I hope your lordships will agree to the address which he has moved, because such an address cannot but strengthen the hands of the Government. I can assure your lordships that it is not required as a stimulus to the Government. So far from having escaped our attention, and so far have we been from lending ourselves to what my noble and learned friend so much deprecates, the subject has been a matter of constant and confidential communication between the two Governments, and no efforts of ours have been wanting to prevent the establishment of such a state of things as my noble friend has shadowed forth. France, having, to her great honour, abolished, with ourselves, Slavery in her colonies, has felt very strongly the want of labour, and she has endeavoured to supply the want by the importation of negro labourers, but without reviving the slave-trade, and without giving encouragement to kidnappers and dealers in slaves. The French Government have been perfectly frank in all their dealings on this question. They have never disguised their object, and have openly stated all the circumstances of the case. So long ago as 1853 they informed us that it was their intention to purchase slaves on the west coast of Africa, immediately emancipate them, and introduce them as free labourers into their colonies, where they were to earn wages, and where their lot would be greatly superior to that in which they had been previously placed. We at once represented to the French Government that it was a great mistake to suppose that Slavery was the general condition of the African race; that it was true slaves were employed by the chiefs for their own purposes; but that if those slaves were sold, others must be got to supply their places, either by kidnapping or by the purchase of dealers, who took advantage of the horrors that war invariably entailed. We pointed out also that it would be difficult to make the chiefs understand the difference between the selling of slaves for importation as free labourers to the French colonies and selling them to the slave-dealers of Cuba. The French Government always contended that they could only import free labourers, because Slavery had ceased to exist in their colonies, and therefore the negro must naturally be free there; but we observed, that other countries, where Slavery was not abo-

lished, must have recourse to the same system of purchasing and importing their labourers; and that if France adopted this system we should lose the right and the power to protest against the system being adopted by those countries. The French Government then said they would endeavour to make an experiment with regard to the emigration of free labourers, and on the first attempt we saw great reason to fear the consequences which my noble and learned friend has apprehended. We immediately brought the subject before the French Government, when they informed us of all the precautions they had taken. They stated that the persons who received the license to trade would only have to do with negroes born free; that the bargains which the latter were asked to make would be freely explained to them; that they would be informed they were to labour for wages; and that, at the expiry of their contract, they would be restored their own country. They further said that the precautions they insisted on being adopted were precisely the same with those taken by the English Government. We replied that that was perfectly true, but that we had abandoned the system as an entire failure; that we found that in all those parts of the coast of Africa where Slavery did not exist the attempt failed from the negroes being unwilling to emigrate; while it gave rise to erroneous impressions among the native chiefs, one of whom destroyed a village and captured the inhabitants that he might dispose of them as emigrants. Having referred to some instances of captures of slavers by the French Government, the noble Earl said, I can assure my noble and learned friend that this subject has occupied the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government. We have not yet proved that the experiment is a failure, nor do I know that we are entitled to say that the French scheme will not succeed. I hold in my hand a copy of a placard issued by a person who undertakes this immigration scheme. The placard appeared on the walls of Sierra Leone, and I must say, that if the conditions mentioned in it be honestly and fairly carried out, I see no great objection to the scheme. It states the amount of the wages, the rent, the board and lodging, during the whole of the engagement. It states that they will be provided with clothes during the whole of that time; that in case of sickness they will be supplied with medicine; that the term of engagement is to be six years, at the end of which the immigrant will either be conveyed to his own country again at the expense of the French Government, or may enter into a further term of service. But I must say, that, although we are not yet entitled to declare that this is a failure, I do entertain precisely the same doubt and apprehension as has been expressed by my noble and learned friend, for I have never yet heard of any instance of these people having any disposition to leave their own country or seek employment elsewhere. I can only say, that this is a system which will require the greatest care on the part of the French Government, as well as on that of the British Government; and I can only renew the promise which I gave the other evening, that if this system should turn out to be different from that which I understand it to be, we shall have no hesitation in

bringing it under the attention of the French Government. I cannot doubt, from the course that has already been pursued, that the French Government will take measures to prevent the French flag from being prostituted by covering any thing like a traffic in slaves.

The EARL OF MALMESBURY did not believe that our illustrious ally, the Emperor of the French, was likely to evade, directly or indirectly, the treaties which his predecessors had made with this country with respect to the slave-trade. He was afraid that the zeal of his noble and learned friend in the cause of humanity had too much excited his apprehension on this subject; and he must remind both his noble and learned friend and his noble friend opposite, that all those who had had any experience of the coast of Africa do not entirely agree in their statement as to the objection of Africans to leave their native country for the purpose of obtaining employment. Sir Henry Huntley, who was for several years the Governor of Gambia, and who commanded Her Majesty's ships in an attempt to extirpate the slave-trade, had assured him that the Kroomen emigrated hundreds and even thousands of miles of their own free will, for the purpose of procuring employment. He had felt it right to read to their lordships the opinions of so high an authority as Sir H. Huntley, because, although quite as hostile as the noble earl to any scheme which might have the effect of reviving the slave-trade in disguise, he yet thought they ought carefully to examine and re-examine any scheme which promised to extend the blessings of civilization to the African race before they abandoned such an enterprise in despair.

The EARL OF HARROWBY believed that if the proposed emigration were confined to the Kroomen, it would be perfectly safe; but it was very difficult to induce the Kroomen to leave their own country. They were a people who never made slaves of others, and who were unwilling to be made slaves themselves; and it was their habit to go away from home, but not for more than two years at a time. One result of the investigation before a Select Committee of the other House, of which he was a member, was, that this was the only race of Africans who could be transferred to our West-India colonies without the danger of an immediate renewal of the slave-trade. To shew the light in which this system was likely to be viewed by the native chiefs in Africa, he would take the liberty of reading the copy of a very curious letter sent by the King of Calabar in answer to a British merchant who had written to His Majesty to know whether any of his people would engage themselves as free labourers. The letter was as follows:

“*Old Calabar, June 5, 1850.*

“Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter by the Magistrate, through Captain Todd, and by your wish I now write you to say, we be glad for supply you with slaves. I hav spoken with King Archibury, and all Calabar gentleman, and be very glade to do the sam. Regard to free emigration we man no will go for himself. We shall buy them alsam we do that time slave-trade bin. We be very glad for them man to come back again to Calabar; but I fear that time they go for West Indies he no will come back her. We

have all agreed to charges four boxes of brass and copper rod for man, woman, and children, but shall not be able to supply the quantity you mention. I think we shall be able to get 400 or 500 for one vessel, and be able to load her in three or four months, for we cannot get them all ready to wait for the ship. She will have to com and tak them on board as they com. We have no place on shore to keep them. The ship will have to pay convey to me and Archibury, but no other gentlemen—say, 10,000 copper for each town in cloth or any other article of trad. I shall be very glad if the term I mention will suit you, for we shall not be able to do it at a less price, and man to be paid for with rods. I shall be very glad when you write me again to mak arrangements with your captain what tim the ship must come, hoping you are quite well, beleeeve me to be,

“My dear Sir, your humble servant,

“EYO HONESTY KING.”

This letter shewed that the system would be but another form of the slave-trade, and that the so-called free labourers would be bought and sold. No doubt the horrors of the middle passage could be prevented by the proper regulation of the vessels employed in conveying the negroes; and after the labourer arrived in a colony in which Slavery had been abolished, he would no longer be the victim of oppression. Yet, on the coast of Africa the effect of the plan would be to revive the gambling spirit engendered by the slave-trade, together with all the atrocities connected with the capture of slaves in the interior, while the course of peaceful commerce and agriculture, now extending rapidly over the shores of Africa, would be entirely arrested.

LORD BROUGHAM briefly replied, quoting the favourite organ of the slave party in the Carolinas, to shew that the slaveholders in America regarded the example proposed to be set by England and France in the matter of the exportation of ‘free’ negroes from Africa as an ‘encouragement and a justification for them to procure as many slaves as they chose for the Southern States. The enforcement of any contract for wages would be entirely within the jurisdiction of the Slave State in which the negro was located; and it was easy to see what would become of the ‘freedom’ of the African emigrant in the event of any legal dispute arising.

“The address was then agreed to.

A morning contemporary gives the following particulars respecting the Kroomen, read by Lord Malmesbury:

“The Kroomen come in small canoes from their country (500 miles) to Sierra Leone in search of labour. They are employed up the river Sierra Leone, Mellacoree, and other rivers, by the merchants, to cut and prepare timber for shipping to England. They enter also on board merchant ships trading along the coast, and also those trading in the rivers for palm-oil. They frequently assist in navigating vessels which have lost men by fever, &c., to England. I know an instance of thirty going to England in a leaky vessel to help at the pumps. At Fernando Po upwards of 350 were employed by an English company to cut timber—very fine teak wood—



stipulating to be sent home every third year: their wages varied from 3*d.* to 10*d.* per diem. They receive pay in merchandise. Ships of war always have Kroomen on board on the coast of Africa, so many according to the size of the ship. They are paid in the royal navy as sailors. Kroomen are employed, I believe, at the Island of Ascension, about 900 miles from their country. They never object to go to the Cape of Good Hope in ships of war. Captured slaves, called by us 'Liberated Africans,' with very few exceptions, have been found useless when employed on board ships of war. Merchant ships will not take them: they are lazy, and demand high wages.' Sir H. Huntley had also furnished Lord Malmesbury with the following suggestions for regulating the employment of Kroomen in the British West Indies:

'1. Kroomen to be shipped at no place in Africa but Sierra Leone. 2. Kroomen shipped for the West Indies must be registered at Sierra Leone, and also in the West Indies upon arrival. 3. Certain ports in the West Indies to be named for the reception of Kroomen. 4. Kroomen never to be taken to the West Indies upon speculation of being employed. 5. Before a ship can sail to get Kroomen for the West Indies the owners to make application for a licensee at the — office in England, shewing a demand for a certain number, and naming in it the property upon which they are to be employed in the West Indies; copy of the demand and license to be sent to the registrar at Sierra Leone. 6. Ships intended to carry Kroomen to the West Indies to be fitted with propeller, and apparatus for obtaining fresh water from sea water. 7. Tonnage of ship to regulate number of Kroomen carried on board. 8. Kroomen in no case to be subject to corporeal punishment (magistrates or registrars should regulate between employer and man). 9. No registrar-in-chief to be appointed but from England; he may appoint deputies with the sanction of the — office in England. 10. Kroomen not to be transferred or let out on hire in the West Indies, nor allowed to work upon any property excepting that named in the licence, without the sanction of the registrar-in-chief, and consent of the Kroomen.'

We also give, from the *Charleston Mercury*, the paragraph to which Lord Brougham referred, and which will tend to shew how dangerous it would be to encourage the scheme alluded to. It may be all very well to say that it was never intended free negroes should be conveyed to a slave State; but let only our Government connive at their exportation, and who shall impose restrictions as to the disposal of the men thus obtained? Look at it in whatever way we may, the project is fraught with danger, and it behoves the friends of the African to oppose it, under what form soever it may be presented.

"The law of Congress, (says the *Charleston Mercury*), carrying out the power given to Congress by the Constitution, prohibits the African slave-trade, and makes the trade piracy. But

if importing negroes as emigrants from Africa is not the slave-trade, then the laws of Congress do not apply to it. We suppose emigrants from Africa may just as legitimately be brought into the United States as emigrants from Germany or Ireland. Nor will the circumstances of an agreement being previously made for employment and wages at all affect the legality of the importation. Hundreds, thousands, are being imported daily from Europe, under agreements with the manufacturers of New England, to carry on their factories. If the Government of the United States shall, therefore, determine that the importation of negroes from the African coast, by England and France, as emigrants into the West-India Islands, is not the African slave-trade, then the whole trade of bringing negroes from Africa is also open to the Southern States. *What becomes of the negroes after they are imported into a State will be an affair of the State.* The General Government can have nothing to do with it. The enforcement of any contract for wages will be entirely within the jurisdiction of the Courts of the States. *And if public opinion, or the real understanding of the emigrants, establishes practically that they shall be slaves, there is no redress by any other authority than that of the States in which they are located."*

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

ON Tuesday the 14th ultimo, Mr. Charles Buxton, one of the members for Newport, submitted to the House of Commons the motion of which he had given notice, on the subject of the African Slave-trade. Identified as is the name of Buxton with the efforts that have been made for the suppression of the slave-trade and of Slavery, it affords us much pleasure to place on record the maiden Parliamentary speech of one of the sons of the late Sir T. F. Buxton on the same question. It was listened to with marked attention, and the hon. member was repeatedly cheered.

"Mr. C. BUXTON, in rising to move an address to Her Majesty on the subject of the slave-trade, said that he was most anxious not to embarrass the action of the Government upon this subject, but, on the contrary, wished to strengthen their hands in dealing with foreign nations. There had been, of late years, a decided increase in the slave-trade between Cuba and the coast of Africa. In 1847 there were only 1000 slaves imported into Cuba, whereas during the last two years the number had averaged about 20,000. The feeling against the slave-trade was very strong in this country, and the subject had been recently recalled to the recollection of the people by the capture of a schooner of 150 tons burden, with no fewer than 500 slaves on board. The poor creatures were crammed between decks, where they could neither stand up nor lie down, and such were their sufferings from want of air, water, and food, that 140 perished in a few weeks. As a matter of humanity, then, he was

sure the House would rejoice at the suppression of so infamous a traffic; and it fortunately happened that humanity and wise policy united in dictating that course. If the slave-trade increased at all it must be by the destruction of the legitimate traffic which had recently sprung up on the coast of Africa. At the present moment the trade in palm-oil and gold-dust amounted to about 3,000,000*l.* per annum, thanks to the action of our cruisers; and it had been ascertained that we might obtain from the African coast an almost unlimited quantity of ivory, arrowroot, timber of all kinds, and a considerable number of the most important articles of commerce. He had great satisfaction in adding, that, in the course of a few years, we might procure from the same quarter a large supply of cotton, equal in quantity to that obtained from the United States. Means had been taken to encourage the cultivation of that article, and last year some 10,000 *lbs* were brought to Manchester, and sold at the same price as American cotton. It was therefore our duty, not only as Christians, but as the leading commercial nation in the world, to foster the legitimate trade of Africa, and nothing would tend so much to that end as the entire suppression of the traffic in slaves. Even a regard for our own honour and dignity ought to induce us to put an end to that traffic. The existing slave-trade was carried on in direct violation of our treaties with Spain. In 1820, Spain pledged herself to abolish the slave-trade, but she did nothing till 1835, when the Queen Regent Christina promised to pass a severe penal law against the traffic. Ten years elapsed before that law was enacted, and up to the present day Spain had refused to make the slave-trade piracy. It was notorious that everybody in Cuba, from the Captain-General to the lowest official, shared more or less in the gains of the slave-trade; and even where slavers had been captured, and the negroes set free, the Spaniards in Cuba had contrived to reduce the wretched creatures to Slavery. The whole object of Spain, indeed, had been to cheat England: since she accepted 400,000*l.* from us as compensation for giving up the slave-trade, she had done everything she possibly could to sneak out of her bargain, and, in the words of the noble Lord at the head of the Government, our treaty engagements Spain had been flagrantly violated. We need not, therefore, be in the least embarrassed by any feeling of delicacy towards Spain; and he begged to suggest to the Government whether they ought not to adopt the same course with respect to Cuba which had proved so successful in the case of Brazil. Some hon. members, distinguished for the originality and independence of their minds, denied that we had any thing to do with the suppression of the slave-trade in Brazil. He could not but believe that the action of the British Government had greatly tended to the suppression of the Brazilian slave-trade, and he could not see why the course which had been found so successful in respect to Brazil should not be applied to Cuba. He admitted, that for the capture of slavers the coast of Africa was a better station than that of Cuba; for while there were only a few ports of Africa whence slaves were imported, the coast of the latter island extended over 1500

miles, deeply indented with bays, and offered greater facilities for the escape of slavers; besides which the number of vessels engaged in legitimate commerce in that sea would render it difficult to distinguish the slaver from the honest merchant ship. He believed the work would be best done by making our squadron on the coast of Africa as efficient as possible, placing there the swiftest vessels, and by adopting, as had been suggested, a system of inshore cruising. Another step that should be taken was to declare the slave-trade to be piracy. A further suggestion had been made upon high authority, that whenever a slave ship was captured the captain and crew, instead of being allowed to escape, should be rendered liable to punishment, say for a term of penal servitude. It might be objected that such a proceeding might bring us into collision with other nations, but that could be provided for, by agreeing to give up the men to the Power which claimed them. Among the various propositions that had been made upon this subject was one to supersede the slave-trade by importing free negro labour into our West-India colonies, and by that means to compete with the sugar-growing slave countries. Such a plan, if possible, would be of great advantage; and in those parts of Africa where the English Government had authority a proper system of emigration would no doubt be encouraged, but in other parts, where any one was to be allowed to take away free negroes, the real effect would be a revival of the slave-trade. Except in those portions of the African coast where British civilization prevailed, the natives were indisposed to leave their country, and it was very doubtful whether the labourers, who could be obtained under that system would be of any great value to our colonies. He was informed that the inhabitants of the island of Martinique were actually petitioning the Emperor of the French not to allow the contract that had been made for the importation of negroes to proceed. That attempt on the part of the French to introduce 10,000 negroes into Martinique would, he (Mr. Buxton) believed, really end in the renewal of the slave-trade. The last accounts from Abbeokuta stated that an invasion was instantly expected from the King of Dahomey for the purpose of capturing slaves. If the courses which had been suggested, and which he (Mr. Buxton) had indicated, were followed, he believed the result would be the complete suppression of this abominable traffic. Some persons objected to any further steps being taken, upon the ground that our previous efforts had not produced the intended effect. He, however, could not admit that statement. At the commencement of the present century the slave-trade was carried on by Turkey, Holland, England, France, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, the United States, and Central America. In all those countries the trade had been suppressed, except in the island of Cuba, and the experience of our previous efforts, therefore, was not at all discouraging. No two men now alive had done so much to put an end to this iniquitous traffic as the noble Lord at the head of the Government and the noble Lord the member for the city of London (Lord John Russell); and he hoped the House would, by assenting to the resolution,



strengthen the efforts of the Government to put down the remnants of this brutal and unchristian commerce. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to employ all the means in her power in order to put down the African slave-trade, and to obtain the execution of the treaties made for that purpose with other Powers.

"Mr. NEWDEGATE said the prediction of his lamented friend, Lord George Bentinck, as to the ruinous results of the withdrawal of protection from the produce of our West-India colonies, had been unhappily verified. The admission of slave-grown sugar into our markets had made that a more profitable article than cotton, and many of those slaves who had been previously employed in the production of cotton were now employed in the production of sugar. The abandonment of protection, therefore, had injured our free-labour sugar colonies, without permanently benefiting our manufacturing interests.

"Mr. WATKIN said, that inasmuch as England employed and fed about 4,000,000 of people on the manufacture of cotton, produced mainly by slave-labour, she was a greater encourager of the slave-trade than any other civilized nation in the world; and he suggested that the most effectual means of diminishing that trade was to develop the growth of cotton by free-labour. The consumption of cotton had doubled itself within the last twelve years, while the means of producing it had increased only 28½ per cent. since the year 1790. Hence, during the last few years, the price of slaves in the southern portions of Africa had increased from 100*l.* to 300*l.* per head.

"Lord PALMERSTON.—I cordially agree to the address which my hon. friend has proposed. I am sure the House will do the Government the justice to believe that that address only embodies the feelings and wishes of the Government. No doubt the adoption of that address by such an assembly as this will prove to the world how anxious England is for the completion of that work which so long engaged her attention. My hon. friend has justly remarked, that there is perhaps nothing more remarkable in the history of the world than the progress that has been made with respect to the question of the slave-trade and Slavery, by the exertion of this country throughout, I may say, the whole of Europe. There was a time when the general prejudice of this country ran in favour, not merely of the existence of Slavery, but of the slave-trade. It was a few noble-minded men who originally started that view of the matter which has since prevailed, and who, by their persevering exertions and the goodness of their cause, won their way, first of all by procuring the abolition of the British slave-trade, and next by enlisting the exertions of the British Government to procure from all other countries declarations and treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade generally; and ultimately crowned their efforts, so far as concerned England, by the abolition of Slavery itself in this country. That indeed would be a noble passage in the history of any country; and it would be truly mortifying if the exertions of this country to put an end to this abominable crime were defeated by the bad faith or a want of exertion

on the part of a Government which has bound itself by solemn treaties to co-operate with us to the fullest extent in its suppression. My hon. friend has clearly pointed out some of the many advantages which have accrued to this country from the suppression of the slave-trade. He has shewn the great increase of the legitimate commerce that has prevailed in the intercourse between this country and the coast of Africa. He has pointed out the enormous increase in the importation of palm-oil and other articles; and he has touched upon the trade in that article of which we stand so much in need, and the importation of which might be greatly increased by a little effort; I mean the article of cotton for our manufactures. When it is remembered that almost the whole population of Western Africa, and the people far in the interior, are clothed with articles made of cotton, it is manifest that the cotton plant must be well adapted to the soil and climate of that country. It is quite evident, also, that if pains were taken by the capitalists and merchants of England to obtain a supply of cotton from thence, Africa would, in a short period, become quite as prolific a source of supply as any other part of the globe. Therefore, regarding the matter merely in the light of the national interest, and divesting it of those higher considerations, which have hitherto governed our conduct, the House will see that the suppression of the slave-trade, which is a *sine quâ non* condition of the development of legitimate traffic in Africa, is well deserving the attention of this country. I regret that the Spanish Government have not been as alive as they ought to have been to the suppression of their slave-trade. It is quite true they have forgotten too much the money payments we have made to secure their co-operation in that object. At the same time, we know that there are temptations in Cuba which it is very difficult for the Governor, or for any of the other officers there, to resist; and we also know that there has existed an apathy on the part of the mother country to fulfil the engagements he has undertaken. When the hon. gentleman, however, says that we ought to apply the same measures to Spain as to Brazil, he must allow me to point out the difference between the two cases. Brazil had bound itself by a general agreement to put an end to the slave-trade; but it refused, when the former treaty expired, to enter into any new treaty which should establish detailed arrangements for executing the general engagement. In that state of things the Government of England acted towards Brazil as it had before done towards Portugal under similar circumstances. A law was passed, authorizing the capture of Brazilian slavers, and the adjudication upon those ships, not before a Brazilian Court, but before the Court of Admiralty of this country. But Spain has not refused to enter into treaty engagements. We have a treaty with her by which all Spanish slavers captured by our vessels should be taken before Mixed Courts of Commission. Therefore, as long as that treaty remains, unless we can shew that there has been a deliberate and positive violation of its stipulations, we have not the same ground of proceeding in regard to Spain as we have towards Brazil. I can only say

that I thank my hon. friend for having elicited from this House what I trust will be an unanimous vote in favour of the address which he has moved; and I beg to assure him and the House that no efforts shall be wanting on the part of Her Majesty's Government to give full effect to his feelings and wishes.

"The address was then agreed to."

### Advertisements.

#### BOSTON NATIONAL ANNUAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE twenty-fourth Annual Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held in Boston, United States, during next Christmas week, for the purpose of raising funds to sustain the operations of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which includes a large majority of the earliest, ablest, most eloquent, and devoted Abolitionists. From its commencement it imposed no sectarian tests; its members are of *all* shades of *religious* and *political* opinions; and it welcomes every one to the work who feels for the slave, and is willing to labour for the removal of the giant iniquity of Slavery. Whilst the members of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* give extensive assistance to fugitive slaves, their main efforts are exerted to produce that enlightenment and change of public opinion so essentially necessary to abolish Slavery itself, and thus only, as proved in the case of British West-Indian Slavery, can its overthrow be accomplished. Nor have they laboured in vain. They have aroused their countrymen, till the subject of Slavery is now the all-absorbing question in every circle or association, whether social, political, financial, or religious.

In their report of the Bazaar held last year the Committee say:

"The receipts of this twenty-third Anti-Slavery Bazaar are 5250 dollars, an advance on any previous year of several hundred dollars. Thus, in spite of bad weather, an insufficient Hall, and a recent election, the *American Anti-Slavery Society* is sustained more strongly than ever, to lead through the coming year the van of that national movement against Slavery which it began a quarter of a century ago.

"We rejoice as aforetime, wishing it were a thousand-fold greater, to place the whole result of our effort at the disposition of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, not because it is the first in chronological order, nor because it is the parent of all the rest, nor because it is *our* Society, successful beyond hope or precedent. Such reasons are infantile, senile, partisan, sectarian, selfish. But we raise for that Society this insufficient offering of all we can, (earnest of more here-

after) because it seeks not itself—because it is without prejudice of race, sect, sex, or clime—because it has, on the subject of Slavery, the truth, the whole truth, and is not ashamed or afraid to proclaim it at every risk and cost, as *only able to make free*—because it, of all the institutions of the land, *has no union with slaveholders*—because it counts slave and master as equal—and *because it frowns alike on bloody despotism and bloody insurrection*. In fine, we pay our mite into the treasury of the American Society, because it advocates *immediate liberty for the slaves*; because it never postpones its holy purpose till after election, or after ordination, or after to-morrow, but declares *now* is the time 'to proclaim liberty to the captive,' and to wipe out the foul blot of American slavery.

"The assistance which has been sent from Great Britain in past years has not only been useful in aiding the funds, but has cheered the hearts of those devoted friends of the slave, who have for twenty-three successive years upheld this Bazaar.

"Contributions are again solicited from the anti-slavery public of Great Britain, and will be received till the middle of October by the following ladies, viz.

Bath	- - -	Mrs. Cotteral.
Belfast	- - -	Miss Ireland, Royal Institution.
Birkenhead	- -	Mrs. O'Brien.
Birmingham	- -	Mrs. Harry Hunt, Edgbaston
Bolton, Lancashire	- -	Miss Abbott.
Bradford, Yorks.	- -	Mrs. T. F. Bird, 3 Hustlers'-terrace.
Bridgwater	- -	Miss Metford.
Bristol	- - -	Mrs. H. Thomas, 2 George-street.
Chelmsford	- -	Mrs. Johns.
Cork	- - -	The Misses Jennings.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dowden Allman.
Crewe	- - -	Mrs. N. Worsdell.
Derby	- - -	Miss Hutton.
Dublin	- - -	Miss Bruce, Glennageragh House, Dalkey.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Edmundson, 35 Capel street.
Do.	- - -	The Misses Haughton, 35 Eccles-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Thomas Hutton, 118, Summer-hill.
Dublin	- - -	The Misses Lloyd, Monks-town-hill, Kingstown.
Do.	- - -	Miss Townsend, Flower-grove, Rochestown-avenue, Dalkey.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Webb, 176 Great Brunswick-street.
Edinburgh	- -	Mrs. J. Wigham, 5 Gray-st.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. M'Laren, Newington House.
Do.	- - -	Miss Black, 38 Drummond-place.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Alexander, 4 St. Vincent-street.



Edinburgh	- -	Mrs. Berry, Rosefield Cottage, Portobello.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dr. Guthrie, 1 Salisbury-road.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dr. Ritchie, 19 Salisbury-road.
Do.	- - -	Misses Terrot, 19 Northumberland-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Lowe, 30 Minto-street.
Do.	- - -	Miss Smith, 2 Hope Park.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Mushet, 33 Nicholson-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Armour, 18 Buccleugh place.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Stephenson, Grange-villa.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Berry, Rosefield Cottage, Portobello.
Evesham	- -	The Misses Davis.
Glasgow	- - -	Miss C. Paton.
Do.	- - -	Miss W. Smeal.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Dr. Nicholl, Royal Observatory.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Samuel R. Brown, 8 Windsor-terrace.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Robert Smith, 15 Woodside-terrace.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Templeton, 38 Hill-street, Garnet-hill.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. James Couper, Viewfield, Campsie Junction.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. William White, 13 White Vale-street.
Do.	- - -	Mr. John Smith, 3 Brighton-place, New City-road.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. John Knox, 32 St Vincent-crescent.
Halifax	- - -	Mrs. Joseph Thorp, Southwood-end.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Geo. Edwards, Light-cliff.
Do.	- - -	Miss Bracken, George-st.
Hull	- - -	Mrs. Seaton, 30 Whitefriar-gate.
Isle of Wight	- -	Mrs. Kell.
Kidderminster	- -	Miss Talbot.
Leeds	- - -	Miss Armistead.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. J. Lupton, 1 Blenheim-terrace.
Leigh, Lancashire	- -	Miss Anne Fletcher.
Liverpool	- - -	Mrs. Banks, Myrtle-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Powell, 113 Field-st.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Steinthal.
London	- - -	Misses Massie, Upper Clapton.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Reid, 21 York-terrace, Regent's-park.
Maidstone, Kent	- -	Mrs. Woodward.
Manchester	- -	Miss Whitelegge, 130 Ormond-street.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. F. Bishop.
Newcastle-on-Tyne	- -	Mrs. John Mawson.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. J. Drewry.
Northfleet, Gravesend	- - -	Miss Esther Sturge
Nottingham	- -	Mrs. W. Enfield.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Booth Eddison.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Turner, Lentonfield.
Oxford	- - -	Mrs. Hemmings.
Perth	- - -	Miss Grant.

Perth	- - -	The Misses Morton.
Pontypool	- - -	Mrs. Davies.
Preston, Lancashire	- -	Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott.
Reading	- - -	Mrs. J. Huntly.
Do.	- - -	Mrs. Palmer, 2 Wellington-place.
Redruth, Cornwall	- -	Mrs. Bellows.
Sheffield	- - -	Mrs. Hincks.
Southampton	- -	Mrs. Harman and Mrs. Clark
Waterford	- - -	Miss Waring.

## ROCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

(AMERICA.)

WHEN soliciting Contributions for the Annual Bazaar, which the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society* has originated, it seems desirable to inform contributors of the objects to which the funds thus raised are applied. We may, therefore, state that money realized by the Bazaar sales is devoted to spreading anti-slavery information throughout the United States, and aiding fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. This is the only Ladies' Society which makes help to fugitives a part of its duties: it is in communication with the Gentlemen's Vigilance Committee at New York, and with a Society in Canada, and is well situated for carrying out this object, the City of Rochester being within a few miles of Lake Ontario, on the Erie Canal, in the direct route from the region of Southern bondage to the land of British freedom.

To keep before the public intelligence of the evil of Slavery the Society arranges for Lectures, and contributes annually to sustain *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, a weekly anti-slavery journal of great ability, published in Rochester, and the organ of the coloured people of the United States. It is the only newspaper in America owned and edited by a coloured man, who was once a slave: and its own intrinsic merit, as well as the interest of the abolition cause generally, requires that, above every other anti-slavery journal, it should be sustained. Its great object, next to the emancipation of the slave, is the elevation of the free coloured Americans, on whom it inculcates self-exertion, self-reliance, and mental culture, as essential instrumentalities towards their attaining a right position in society. The paper also strives to remove the many disgraceful disabilities, social and political, by which the coloured people are oppressed.

Some of the articles mentioned in the Bazaar Reports as commanding a ready sale are as follows:—Materials for children's dresses *unmade*; aprons and pinafores of all kinds *made up*; baby linen, with the exception of caps; hosiery, worked collars, and cuffs; crochet work of all kinds, tatting, and knitted edgings; cambric handkerchiefs;

fine Irish linen; boxes of tapes; white crochet mats and d'Oyleys; purses and balls; needle-books and pincushions of superior quality; knitted and embroidered slippers; sofa-cushions, and carriage-bags; Honiton-lace; *papier maché* ornaments; Irish bog oak ornaments; fancy stationery, and water-coloured drawings.

A complete list of the contents of every box, with *very low* prices affixed, should be placed at the top of the box. This will save the goods from being tossed over, and thereby injured at the Custom-house, and the duties will be estimated at the low valuation. A second list, with Bazaar prices marked, may be sent to the Secretary of the Rochester Society. It has been desired that all goods should be marked with the name of the place whence they are sent, to facilitate acknowledging them in the Report of the Bazaar.

Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies in aid of that of Rochester have been formed during the past year in the following towns: Dublin, Liverpool, Birmingham, Derby, Coventry, Mansfield, Sheffield, Rotherham, Huddersfield, Doncaster, Wakefield, Barnsley, Bradford, and Halifax.

Mrs. J. Robberds kindly undertakes to forward a box, and will receive collections (paid to Liverpool) till the 30th of September, 1857. Address, High Park Street, Liverpool.

The following are the names of those who will receive Contributions:

Aberdeen . . .	Mrs. Brown, 156 Crown-st.
Arbroath . . .	Mrs. Salmond, Mill Head.
Barnsley . . .	Mrs. Willan.
Beckenham, Kent,	Rev. Dr. Marsh, (pecuniary contributions only.)
Belfast . . .	Miss H. Hincks.
Birkenhead . . .	Mrs. I. B. Cooke, Shrewsbury-road.
Birmingham . .	Mrs. E. Sturge, Wheelley's-hill.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Goodrick, 11 George-street, Edgbaston.
Bradford . . .	Mrs. Ecroyd.
Brechin . . .	Mrs. Lamb, the Latch.
Bridge of Allan, } Scotland }	Mrs. Blair.
Bridgewater . . .	Mrs. A. King.
Bristol . . . . .	Mrs. R. Charleton, 13 Cotham New-road.
Chelmsford . . .	Mrs. Johns, Goldlay House.
Cork . . . . .	The Misses Jennings.
County of Donegal,	Mrs. Young, Culdaff House, Carndonagh.
Coventry . . . .	Miss Cash.
Derby . . . . .	Mrs. Emma Steer.
Do. . . . .	Miss Hutton.

Doncaster . . .	Mrs. Tyte, 11 Priory-place.
Dublin . . . . .	Mrs. Studdert, Rathgar Mission.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. W. Webb, 8 Dunville-avenue, Cullinswood.
Dundee . . . . .	Mrs. Borwick, Ball-street.
Edinburgh . . .	Mrs. Dr. Grey, 5 East Claremont-street.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Marshall, Stead's-pl., Leith-walk.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Horsburgh, 18 Buccleugh-place.
Do. . . . .	Miss Leishman, 42 Minto-st.
Evesham . . . .	Miss Davis, Almswood.
Falkirk . . . . .	Mrs. Hamilton, Old Manse.
Glasgow . . . . .	Mrs. Dr. Robson, 2 Queen's-crescent.
Do. . . . .	Miss Smith, 62 Kelvin-grove-street.
Greenock . . . .	Mrs. Reyburn.
Halifax . . . . .	Mrs. Hargreaves, Lord-st.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, Milton-place.
Huddersfield . .	Mrs. Pritchett, New North-road.
Lancaster . . . .	Mrs. Barton, Worthington.
Leeds . . . . .	Mrs. Thomas Harvey.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. F. Fryer, 14 Briggate.
Leicester . . . .	Mrs. Gittins, Church Gate.
Do. . . . .	Miss Hannah Burgess.
Liverpool . . . .	Mrs. J. Robberds, High Park-street.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Bulley, Grove Park, Lodge-lane.
London . . . . .	Mrs. Dr. Campbell, Tabernacle House, Finsbury.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Fisher, 187 Strand.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. M. Bowden, 53 Gracechurch-st. (Free-Labour Dépôt).
Do. . . . .	Miss Claridge, 2 Regent-pl. East, Regent-square.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. Chalmers, 12 Douglas-road, Canonbury.
Do. . . . .	League of Brotherhood Office, 35 Broad-st. Buildings.
Do. . . . .	British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office, 27 New Broad-street.
Manchester . . .	Miss S. A. Morris, 53 Fern Bank, Cheetham-hill.
Mansfield . . . .	Mrs. M. Adlington, King's Mills.
Merthyr . . . . .	Miss Howell, George Town.
Montrose . . . .	Mrs. Dr. Lawrence.
Do. . . . .	Mrs. McDermott.
Nottingham . . .	Miss Lucy M. Woods.
Rotherham . . . .	Mrs. G. Taylor, Donside.
Sheffield . . . .	Mrs. Yeomans, Up. Thorpe.
Taunton . . . . .	Mrs. Blake, Bishop's Hull.
Wakefield . . . .	Miss Dawson, Chesnut-grove, Northgate.
Warrington . . .	Mrs. R. Gaskell, Penketh.
Waterford . . . .	Mrs. J. J. Strangman, Newtown-buildings.